REPLY

OF

L. N. M. CARNOT,

CITIZEN OF FRANCE,

ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE REPUBLIC,
AND CONSTITUTIONAL MEMBER OF
THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY:

TO THE

REPORT *made on the* CONSPIRACY *of the* 18*th Fructidor.*
5*th Year, by* J. CH. BAILLEUL, *in the*
Name of the Select Committee.

THIRD EDITION.

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INTRODUCTION.

IT is not eaſy to diſcover the motive which could have led to the publication of the following work; a work which, when we conſider the ſituation of the Author, whether with a view to the ambitious proſpects which he may be ſuppoſed ſtill to entertain, or to that regard for character which is never wholly abandoned by the moſt profligate of mankind, muſt appear equally prejudicial to his intereſts and to his reputation.

Under the form of a Reply to the Calumnies (for ſuch they appear to be) alledged againſt him by the Directorial Reporter, Bailleul, the Author has contrived to give a general view of his political Character and Opinions, and an Apology (or, more properly ſpeaking, a Juſtification, for ſuch the Author ſeems to conſider it) of his Principles and Conduct during the Revolution. And this Apology, including an arrogant aſſumption of merit, from the murder of his ſovereign, and confining his whole exculpation of the innumerable murders committed in his own name and under his own authority to a ſlight aſſertion of a diſapprobation expreſſed in the preſence of Robeſpierre and his other colleagues—This apology, devoting its Author to infamy (in the opinion of all thoſe, by whom his conduct may be eſtimated according to the ancient and immutable principles of morality), is at the ſame time ſo contrived, that, of the three parties exiſting in France, the Royaliſts, the Jacobins, and the Directory, it is calculated

to irritate and exaſperate every one; — the Directors, as they are perſonally, and virulently, and (what is ſtill more unpardonable) juſtly denounced to the world as the enemies of peace and the oppreſſors of mankind ;— the Royaliſts, of courſe ;—and the Jacobins, as their former conſpiracies are cited, and a merit aſſumed from having aſſiſted in their ſuppreſſion.

The publication of ſuch a work, however, though a little extraordinary, is not wholly unaccountable. That Sully and Clarendon, men whoſe lives were devoted not to any ſelfiſh or ſenſual purpoſes, but to the benefit and improvement of mankind ; that ſuch men ſhould have thought a portion of their leiſure uſefully occupied, in accounting to mankind for the employment of their time and the application of their talents — this is not extraordinary. They felt no embarraſſment, no anxiety for the arrangement of a ſpecious narrative, no neceſſity for concealment of the truth or for

an artful inſinuation of falſehood; to recollect and record the tranſactions of a meritorious and honourable life was in itſelf no unpleaſing duty; and they were conſcious that the purpoſes for which alone they exiſted would extend themſelves, and be perpetuated with the influence of their example.

But there are other writers of a very different character, men whoſe lives have been pernicious or uſeleſs to ſociety; who have, nevertheleſs, conceived it important that poſterity ſhould be acquainted with their principles, ſuch as they were, and with the courſe of their tranſactions and intrigues. This rage for perpetuating the portraitures of mental deformity has been at all times remarkably prevalent in France; and the immenſe collection of French memoirs preſents us with a ſeries of theſe ſelf-accuſers unexampled in the literature of any other country.

The paſſions, by which theſe writers muſt have been actuated, like all others, ſeem to

have gained new force and activity from the events of the Revolution. The reſtleſſneſs attendant upon involuntary retirement, that impatience of ſilence and obſcurity which embitters the exile or ſeceſſion of a baniſhed or abdicating ſtateſman, the *beſoin de faire parler de ſoi*, have been felt in their full force by all the ſucceſſive victims whom ambition has raiſed to notice for an inſtant and then replunged in their original obſcurity. It is to theſe paſſions that we are indebted for almoſt all we know of the Revolution; for the Memoirs of GARAT, and ROLAND, and DUMOURIER; the Narratives of LOUVET, and RIOUFFE; and the Apologies of NECKAR, and of FOUQUIER TINVILLE.

This laſt (a worthy magiſtrate, and preſident of the Revolutionary Tribunal under the direction of that committee of which CARNOT was a member) confines his juſtification to the following metaphorical aſſertion, "*that his tender heart had expanded*

like a flower at the firſt dawning of the Revolution;" and he very fairly confeſſes, that ſince that time he had been miſled by his zeal; and that, in point of *murder*, he is apprehenſive he may have carried things a little farther than was neceſſary, or indeed perhaps altogether juſtifiable.

The Apology offered by his principal, the Ex-director, is not quite ſo modeſt; he takes upon him to reproach the world in general, for their ignorance as to what uſed to paſs in the Committees of Public Safety —"*It is not ſufficiently known* (ſays he) *that I uſed to reproach* ROBESPIERRE *for his unneceſſary cruelties.*" It certainly is not known; nor will it be credited, upon ſuch aſſertion; nor, even if it were true, would it be a ſufficient apology, or any thing like it. The Author would certainly have done better, not to have deviated into theſe extraneous exculpations; unleſs, indeed, he could have proved that, by ſome inexplicable chain of obligation, it had been

originally his duty to become a member of the Committee of Public Safety; and that, once appointed to that ſacred truſt, he was bound to continue his ſervices, and to retain life at the expence of guilt and infamy. He certainly would have done better to have confined himſelf to the ſingle theſis which forms the profeſſed ſubject of his work, namely, to prove that BAILLEUL's accuſation of Royaliſm, and LEPAUX's imputations of Chriſtianity, are unfounded; and that the Author is, in fact, as ſound an Atheiſt and as good a Regicide as heart could wiſh or Republicaniſm require. Upon this point he is completely triumphant, and muſt be admitted, we think, in the opinion of every impartial perſon, to have left his adverſaries without the poſſibility of a reply.

The next point in diſcuſſion is not calculated to inſpire much intereſt; it conſiſts of the ſimple fact of the Author's having been betrayed and outwitted by his accomplices.

Your rivals having made their puſh,
And kick'd you out without remorſe,
Whether it ſignifies a ruſh,
Is the next part of this diſcourſe:

You think yourſelves abuſed and put-on,
'Tis natural to make a fuſs;
To ſee it and not care a button,
Is juſt as natural for us;

Like people viewing at a diſtance
Two perſons thrown out of a caſement,
All we can do for your aſſiſtance,
Is to afford you our amazement.

To Citizen Carnot therefore, in return for the ſtriking and amuſing ſpectacle, which he has diſplayed on the theatre of the Republic, from the time of his original *debut* in the character of the Committee-man, to the period of his final diſappearance through the trap-door, like Schillers Fieſco, in the laſt act of the Conſpiracy, entangled in the ſkirts of his Directorial Toga, and dragged over-board and drowned by his

Republican brethren—in gratitude for the whole of this intereſting and ſurprizing exhibition, we ſhall offer the humble tribute of our artleſs and unfeigned aſtoniſhment, unmixed with any of thoſe emotions of ſympathy, which belong to the province of a different ſpecies of the political drama; that drama which, in the downfal of empires and the overthrow of ancient and eſtabliſhed governments, diſplays thoſe characters which Heaven itſelf ſurveys with approbation:

> A great man ſtruggling with the ſtorms of fate,
> And greatly falling with a falling ſtate.

We truſt that the nations of Europe, though weakened and ſubdued, are not yet ſo debaſed in ſpirit and character, that they are prepared to take an intereſt, and to ſide as factious partizans with the contending leaders of the Great Nation; that, like the tributary ſovereigns of Numidia, or Bithynia, or Egypt, under the old overbearing

Republic of Rome, they will be proud to rank themſelves as Cæſarians or Pompeians, to combat for a choice of oppreſſors, and diſcuſs and controvert the pretenſions of their rival plunderers. We proceed therefore to the only point of view in which the quarrels and altercations of the accomplices in blood and robbery can excite an intereſt in the minds of honeſt men—namely, the examination of ſuch facts as may be brought to light in the courſe of their mutual recriminations; but for theſe the reader muſt be referred to the work itſelf; he will there ſee that the ſacrifice of the Cape and our other conqueſts in the Eaſt, which was attempted to be exacted as a preliminary to negotiation, would have reſtored them, not to their old maſters, and our former allies, the Dutch, but, to our own inveterate rivals, and irreconcileable enemies; after which, or more probably on the firſt attempt to remonſtrate againſt ſo ſcandalous a breach of faith, we ſhould (under every diſadvantage) have been driven

again to a renewal of hoſtilities, of which, in fact, this armiſtice obtained by an artifice at once ſo inſolent and ſo fraudulent would only have been a neceſſary, and not the leaſt efficient part.

With reſpect to the authenticity of the work, we have no means of forming a judgement but what are equally open to our readers, namely, an attentive examination of the evidence contained in the work itſelf: conſidering the circumſtances under which it is written, it is hardly to be expected that the Author ſhould come forward to claim and avow his own production; upon the teſt, therefore, of internal evidence (in our opinion a perfectly ſatisfactory one), we muſt be content to form our judgement, unleſs (which is not improbable) the Directory, who muſt be the beſt judges, ſhould think fit to ſilence all objection, and ſanction the authenticity of the work, by employing their uſual advocates for its refutation.—In the mean time, their agents in

this country, apprehenſive that its contents might be offenſive to their patrons and employers, have thought it right, as a meaſure of precaution, to inſert a paragraph in the paper which ſerves as the uſual vehicle of their miſrepreſentations:—the paragraph too is in their uſual and favourite ſtyle (a ſtyle perfectly familiar to thoſe who have at all attended to the ſyſtem of falſehood and miſrepreſentation of which they are the indefatigable propagators), inſinuating a falſehood under the flippant affectation of a ſort of negligent ſcepticiſm—We are told that.—" It is a curious publication " if genuine.—It appears to be publiſhed " by the French emigrants, and, true or " falſe, it is a captivating title."—We ourſelves profeſs to be wholly uninformed with reſpect to the circumſtances of the publication; but we are ſtrongly inclined to believe, that if the Author of this paragraph had any information of his own upon the ſubject (which however we by no means give him credit for), it would be found to

be in direct contradiction to his own inſinuation :—we ſhould be farther inclined to ſuſpect, that the writer had not even ſeen the work, the authenticity of which he is ſo forward to call in queſtion; certainly no one who had read it attentively would have attempted to overthrow the credit of its authenticity by ſo fooliſh and inapplicable a calumny, as that of its being forged by the emigrants ;—whereas, from the beginning of the book to the end, there is not a ſingle paſſage to be found, directly or indirectly, favourable to the particular cauſe of the emigrants, or to their character; nor is the word " Emigrant " (we believe), except in a ſingle paſſage where Barras is accuſed of protecting them, to be found in the whole book.

But it is impoſſible to attempt to meet every objection with its particular refutation ;—the internal evidence, to thoſe who are capable of eſtimating it, will be a ſtronger and more convincing teſt of au-

thenticity than ten thouſand external proofs; and for thoſe who may be diſpoſed to controvert it, in oppoſition to their own conviction, the example of the *Letters from Egypt*, the authenticity of which, after being ſo long, ſo ſtrenuouſly, and ſo impudently, denied in this country, is now finally eſtabliſhed by the confeſſion of the French themſelves; will, we hope, teach them a little caution, and that they will wait, at leaſt, for the determination of their friends at Paris, before they engage in a diſpute, in which thoſe very friends may find it ne ceſſary to contradict them.

London,
March 22, 1799.

REPLY

OF

L. N. M. CARNOT, &c.

AT length I have received a copy of the Report of Bailleul on the Conſpiracy of Fructidor, and have eagerly examined whether any thing it contained concerned me perſonally. I there found, that the committee had honoured me with particular attention, and that it had recorded my ſuppoſed delinquencies in about twelve lines of text, and forty-five of notes.

I know not whether, in the remainder of the Report, it adheres as ſtrictly to the truth as in that part of which I am the ſubject; but, I

ſet out by declaring, and ſhall preſently demonſtrate, that this part of the Report is one continued tiſſue of abominable impoſtures; that there is not a ſingle word in it which does not bear the ſtamp of premeditated falſehood, and of the moſt flagrant perfidy.

When a committee is appointed by the Legiſlative Body to prepare an authentic Report relative to an event which that committee itſelf has contributed to produce; when, after ſix months of reſearch, it announces that at length it has collected all the facts; and when, after the enumeration of all it conſiders as merely probable, it declares (page 26, note) that *all the remainder of the Report is confirmed by official documents depoſited in the hands of the miniſters;* when this, I ſay, is the caſe, and yet the ſubſequent part of the Report contains a ſeries of facts which are not ſupported by any official document whatever; when, on the contrary, there exiſt innumerable official papers which give the lie to them all, which radically overturn and deſtroy them; then, I ſay, that not only this reporter is infamous

himſelf, but all thoſe who have participated in this work of iniquity.

Bailleul, dreſſed like a *Chouan*, and exerciſing the trade of a *Chouan* in the time of the National Convention, is ſuddenly become a high-flown patriot: that is, according to the new acceptation of the word, a man ſervilely devoted to the Executive Directory; deſirous that the Legiſlative Body ſhould be reduced to a mere *Chancellerie*, the blind inſtrument to regiſter the ſupreme orders of this abſolute maſter; to expel thoſe whom it is commanded to expel by the Directory; to proſcribe thoſe whom it is commanded to proſcribe; applauding its violences, and ſacrificing to its caprice and avidity the labours, the liberty, the honour, and the life, of every citizen.

What has induced Bailleul to ruſh into this new career?—doubtleſs the promiſe of an embaſſy, or of ſome other important poſt. But Bailleul and his co-adjutors will learn, that the Directory promiſe much, while they perform

little. He, as well as his aſſociates, will find, that ſervility and meanneſs, in the end, always receive their juſt reward—the contempt of thoſe whom they ſerve.

Such are the republicans of the preſent day! the patriots *par excellence!* while the man, who chooſes rather to ruin himſelf than exceed the bounds of the Conſtitution, is ſtigmatized as a royaliſt; the man, who voted for the death of the King, who has made war on Kings, who has contributed to the humiliation of all Kings, this man is a royaliſt! This, forſooth, is evident: *we do not attempt* (ſays Bailleul, p. 2) *to prove the exiſtence of light.*

The great principle once eſtabliſhed, the train of argument to be adopted by the reporter becomes perfectly eaſy. He has no occaſion to *attempt to prove*; it is enough for him to ſtate facts; and as St. Juſt, when accuſing his colleagues in the tribune of the National Convention, ſaid, "*the documents are in the hands of the committee:*" ſo Baileul, accuſing his col-

leagues in the tribune of the Council of Five Hundred, ſays, *the documents are in the hands of the miniſters.*

'*Your committee* (adds he, p. 2) *would have but imperfectly conceived your wiſhes, had they directed their attention to adduce proofs or furniſh juſtifications.*'

Excellent, Citizen Bailleul! it is eaſy to perceive the true meaning of this declaration. I grant that it would be '*but imperfectly to conceive the wiſhes*' of thoſe who know that no proofs exiſt but the proofs of their own crimes, to ſubmit ſuch proofs to their inſpection—to the inſpection of the people—to the inſpection of all Europe. Thoſe who, like you, are perfectly acquainted, by their own feelings, who were the real Fructidorian conſpirators; thoſe who tremble, even at this day, leſt they ſhould be forced too clearly to contemplate that immortal victory, that victory in which the Conſtitution expired under their poignards, in which the rights of man were torn in pieces by their ſacrilegious hands;

thoſe men, I ſay, will thank you for this *trait* of genius, worthy of Fouquier-Tinville.

But all mankind have not, like you, or like them, the art of ſetting themſelves above the reproaches of conſcience; and, therefore, thoſe of the repreſentatives who, on that glorious day, paralyzed with terror, proſcribed their colleagues in a maſs; or, through weakneſs or impotence, ſuffered them to be proſcribed, yet ſhuddering at their own art, and hoping that they might one day be relieved from the burden with which they were overwhelmed; thoſe men, Citizen Bailleul, would not have thought that you had *imperfectly conceived their wiſhes*, or that you had undertaken an unneceſſary labour, in proving to them that what they were then doing, if it was not conſtitutional, was at leaſt radically juſt.

Yes; I, who am far removed from the cabinet of miniſters; I, who am living in retirement in an obſcure village in the heart of Germany; I will prove to Bailleul, that the documents which he ſays are '*depoſited in the hands of the mi-*

niſters,' and which he declares he has ſeen and read, have in fact no exiſtence. I will prove to Bailleul, that there does exiſt a multitude of documents, which eſtabliſh facts diametrically oppoſite to thoſe to which he has pledged himſelf. I will prove to Bailleul, that he is the vileſt and baſeſt of impoſtors.

I ſhall examine, ſentence by ſentence, what he has ſaid concerning me; to each of them I ſhall reply ſucceſſively. I begin with the text, which is literally as follows. (p. 35.)

'*Carnot denies that aſſaſſinations were committed.*'

Is it in writing, Citizen Bailleul, or verbally, that I have *denied* this fact? If it be in writing, the *official documents* muſt be '*in the hands of the miniſters*,' as you have before declared. Produce theſe documents. Explain to us what kind of documents could prove ſuch a *denial;* or by what ſort of declaration any one can aſſert, that throughout France, or only, for inſtance,

in the South, no crime has been committed. But to have done with this trifling abſurdity ; — I will preſently demonſtrate that the official documents, which actually exiſt, ſtate the direct contrary to be the fact.

In the firſt place, then, YOU LIE, when you aſſert that all the facts are proved by official documents. It is only verbally, then, that I have denied this fact ? And from whom could you learn this, Citizen Bailleul ? From the Directory, no doubt, whoſe aſſertions are equally deſerving of confidence with the *official documents depoſited in the hands of the miniſters*. But, Citizen Bailleul, the Directory give evidence here in their own cauſe ; either the Directory, therefore, muſt acknowledge that it has been guilty of a horrid outrage, or it muſt maintain that thoſe whom it proſcribed were really criminal. The Directory is all-powerful, whereas the other parties are either fugitives or in priſon. Do you believe they will proclaim the innocence of theſe men, and declare themſelves deſerving of the moſt ſevere puniſhment.

The number of aſſaſſinations was doubtleſs much exaggerated by the newſpapers, and the cauſes of theſe aſſaſſinations were not always thoſe attributed to them. But ſo far from having ever denied their exiſtence, no one has been ſo urgent as myſelf for the proſecution of the aſſaſſins; no one has ſo bitterly complained of the glaring partiality of the tribunals; no one has with ſo much warmth and earneſtneſs recommended to the members of the Legiſlative Body to place adequate means in the hands of the Directory to put a ſtop to this deluge of crimes.

The *official proofs* of all this, Citizen Bailleul, are to be found in the letters which I wrote in the name of the Directory to the Generals commanding in the interior, and which are depoſited with the Directory itſelf; they are to be found in the teſtimonies of all thoſe who heard me ſpeak on this execrable ſyſtem of aſſaſſination.

I will, in my turn, ſtate a fact, which proves, that, far from denying theſe atrocities, I, on the contrary, exerted the utmoſt of my power to

have the authors of them punished; a circumstance which would appear singular, did we not know the unparalleled villany of the tyrants, of whom you, Bailleul, are the worthy tool:—But the fact is proved by *official documents depofited in the hands of the miniſters!*

Acts of violence took place at Dijon and at Arras: in the firſt of which a murder had even been committed; nor could it be doubted that theſe outrages were the work of the counter-revolutioniſts. Of theſe facts I had collected numerous proofs which I imparted to the Directory, and alſo placed them in the hands of the Miniſter of General Police, with a requeſt that he would proſecute the perpetrators. Yet, incredible as it may appear, I could never obtain a report on this ſubject. Incredible as it may appear, I ſpoke in the warmeſt manner to the Directory no leſs than fifteen times, who never deigned to attend to the buſineſs! The papers which I communicated will atteſt the fact; the deputies from the Department of the *Côte d'Or* in particular can prove with what ardour I pro-

ſecuted the affair of their own Deparment: yet all my labour was in vain! — And why? — Becauſe the Directory were well pleaſed that aſſaſſinations ſhould be committed: — becauſe (according to their doctrine) the true remedy being the exceſs of the evil, they were deſirous that the evil ſhould be carried to exceſs.

But theſe were, in fact, mere pretexts for accuſations againſt the members of the legiſlature, and thoſe of the Directory whom they were reſolved to ruin. Above all, they ſeized with the utmoſt avidity every opportunity of directing againſt me that indignation which the impunity of crimes neceſſarily produced in the Departments where I was particularly intereſted. I was born in the Department of the *Côte d'Or*, and was married in that of the *Pas de Calais*; this is the reaſon I have never been able to obtain juſtice for either the one or the other of theſe Departments.

' He oppoſes the diſmiſſion of Willot."

Either Willot was culpable, Citizen Bailleul, or he was not. If Willot was innocent, it was my duty to oppoſe his diſmiſſal: if he was guilty, it is not I that ſhould be accuſed, but thoſe very triumvirs who with to charge me with the crime they have themſelves committed. Did they not form the majority of the Directory? Could they not diſmiſs Willot in ſpite of my individual opinion? It follows then, either that the triumvirate thought, like me, that Willot was not criminal, or that they were themſelves the accomplices of Willot. Chooſe, Citizen Bailleul, which alternative you pleaſe. How is it, that, after taking ſix months to forge lies, you at laſt allow ſuch bungling falſehoods to eſcape you?

Can any thing more abſurd be conceived, than three men ſaying, " We formed a majority in the Directory, and we could take whatever meaſures we thought proper to ſtop the progreſs of diſorders; yet we allowed aſſaſſinations without number to be committed, becauſe one of

our colleagues did not believe that aſſaſſinations really exiſted, although we were perfectly certain that they were perpetrated every day:—we ſuffered the principal cut-throat to continue in place, becauſe this ſame colleague of ours did not believe him to be an aſſaſſin, although we had a thouſand proofs of his criminality?"

"Our colleague may have been deceived; he is in an error; conſequently he is a royaliſt, and ought to be exiled. As for us, no one has impoſed upon us; it is knowingly, and with our eyes open, that we have permitted thouſands of aſſaſſinations to be committed; thus we are only guilty of cowardice and cruelty; conſequently we are the true patriots, and ought to continue in the Directory in order to bring about *Fructidorian revolutions*."

Willot was ſent to Marſeilles as a man of character, and qualified to keep all parties within bounds. He had combated with ſucceſs the rebels of La Vendée. It will be found, even in his letters, that he thinks Hoche is not

ſufficiently ſuſpicious of them. He fears their ſubmiſſion may be only a feint! that they are abuſing the indulgence of government; and that they will take advantage of the firſt favourable opportunity to renew their plots and conſpiracies.

In a ſhort time, however, we received contradictory reports from Marſeilles relative to the conduct of Willot; thoſe who propagated them, call themſelves true patriots, and treat all their adverſaries as robbers and aſſaſſins; ſome as the agents of anarchy, others as the advocates of royaliſm.

Barras propoſed the diſmiſſal of Willot. But what friends, what correſpondents could Barras have at Marſeilles? Probably thoſe who, during his miſſion with Fréron, ſuggeſted to him ſo many dilapidations, ſo many maſſacres, ſo many ſcenes of horror; the authorities recently conſtituted by this ſame Fréron in his ſecond miſſion; by this diſciple, this co-adjutor, of Marat, who boaſts of having compoſed the moſt virulent articles of his bloody pages; and

who even, after the ninth of Thermidor, continued to invoke him as his tutelary divinity.

I oppoſed the removal of Willot until farther examinations were made. The other members of the Directory did the ſame. This is evident; ſince, if they had thought with Barras, they would have been a majority, and Willot would have been diſmiſſed. Theſe are the wretches who accuſe me now of having oppoſed Willot's diſmiſſal!

In the Departments of the South was a man, named Cadet, who was in the confidence of the Directory. It was agreed to refer the buſineſs to him; he was ordered immediately to repair to Marſeilles, and tranſmit an exact and poſitive account of the conduct of Willot. Cadet wrote that Willot conducted himſelf very well, that he diſplayed much energy and impartiality, and that his conduct was abſolutely irreproachable. Willot was unanimouſly continued at Marſeilles, and Barras himſelf dared not to vote againſt him.

In the mean while complaints were made againſt Moynat-d'Auxon, who commanded at Toulon. The Directory ordered Cadet to proceed to Toulon, and ſend them an account of the conduct of Moynat. Cadet returned for anſwer, that Moynat was unfit for the command, and that he leaned to ariſtocracy. I immediately propoſed the removal of Moynat; and, taking a pen, drew up the decree myſelf. The Secretary-General can and ought to atteſt this fact.

The deliberations of the Directory were recorded in the journals, and the letters of Cadet are among the *official papers* depoſited in the offices. Are you ſatisfied now, Citizen Bailleul?

But there exiſt other official documents with reſpect to Willot. I mean the letters I wrote to him in the name of the Executive Directory; and that which I addreſſed to him in my own private capacity, after his taking his ſeat in the Legiſlative Body. All theſe letters formally prove the reverſe of what you advance. The laſt of

them contains bitter reproaches on the ſtep he took in the Council of Five Hundred. The Directory got poſſeſſion of this minute, by putting their ſeal upon my papers: and what illuſtrates the good faith that governs both them and you, Citizen Bailleul, who ſay you have collected all the documents, is, that you not only omit to mention this minute, which would confound your impoſture, but that you even dare to advance as a fact, the direct contrary of what is ſubſtantially proved by that letter. Aſſuredly, when every thing that was dear to me, when even my family papers fell into the hands of the tyrants, it cannot be aſſerted, that I only left thoſe letters which I was willing ſhould be read. Do there exiſt in any part of the Republic, or elſewhere, any letters of mine written in a different ſtyle? I challenge all thoſe who have any ſuch in their poſſeſſion to ſend them to the Executive Directory.

Not only my letter to Willot muſt have been found among my papers, but all my private correſpondence with Bonaparte; all my official

correſpondence with the Generals during the campaign of 1793 and 1794; all my private letters to different repreſentatives of the people from the opening of the laſt ſeſſion. It can be eaſily ſeen, whether I have varied in my principles; whether the language I held under the revolutionary government contradicts that which I held under the conſtitutional government; whether it is not uniformly that of the moſt ardent civiſm, combined with the deepeſt ſenſe of humanity, and the pureſt morality. Theſe papers contain the beſt anſwers that can be given both to thoſe who wiſhed to implicate me in the conſpiracy of Robeſpierre, and to thoſe who have included me in the Fructidorian proſcription. I ſhall, one day, perhaps, be accuſed of having even participated in the new tyranny itſelf!

When Willot was elected into the Legiſlative Body, it was thought the beſt meaſure to purſue, was to order Bonaparte to replace him, by ſending to Marſeilles any of the Generals, in the Army of Italy, he thought beſt qualified to execute that delicate and important commiſſion.

Bonaparte ſent Sahuguet, and preſently the ſame reproaches were laviſhed on Sahuguet, as had been laviſhed on Willot: and thus, Citizen Bailleul, you have an accuſation prepared for Bonaparte whenever occaſion ſhall require.

'*Though once an implacable enemy to Pichegru, yet now he has taken his ſeat in the Legiſlative Body, he has daily interviews with him privately and confidentially.*'

I have never been either the friend or the enemy of Pichegru. I have never been either the perſonal friend or the perſonal enemy of any of the Commanders in Chief in the ſervice of the Republic. I have eſteemed and cultivated the friendſhip of thoſe who were able and ſkilful officers, and I have contributed as much as I could to employ them, while I endeavoured to remove ſuch as were unfortunate, without giving them any perſonal pain or offence.

My confidence in Pichegru began to diminiſh, when his conduct gave birth to doubts in my

mind, relative to the firmneſs of his principles. Reubel alſo ſtated ſome facts to the Directory, which increaſed my ſuſpicions. As Pichegru, therefore, had thrice offered to retire, I propoſed at laſt to accept of his reſignation. Pichegru was no longer employed, but came to Paris, where he complained bitterly, and ſaid, that he had not expreſſly offered his reſignation, but had only demanded leave of abſence. Great pains were now taken to irritate him againſt me. He was really my enemy, but I was not his. The ſame newſpapers that now deſcribe me as his accomplice, then imputed his retreat to me as a crime. It was even pretended that he was ſtarving, and that he was obliged to maintain himſelf by keeping the Diligences at Veſoul. On my ſuggeſtion, however, the Directory continued his pay as General of Diviſion.

When Pichegru appeared in the Legiſlative Body, I was deſirous of being beforehand with him, and paid him a viſit. I did the ſame with Jourdan. I was accompanied by two general officers, and we converſed ſeveral hours

on the ſituation of political affairs, and the neceſſity of re-eſtabliſhing harmony between the chief conſtituted authorities. Pichegru ſpoke with more ſhrewdneſs than I had imagined him to poſſeſs, for I ſcarcely knew him, except through the medium of his military talents; and they do not always infer that cultivation of mind which is the offspring of a liberal education; and, in the few opportunities I had of ſeeing him, he had always appeared very reſerved and ſilent. When we left him, one of the general officers ſaid to me, " I am not pleaſed " with Pichegru; I do not think him ſincere:" I ſuſpect (ſaid I) it is becauſe, he is no longer Commander in Chief of the Army of the Rhine.

I was deſirous, however, of drying up the ſource of every animoſity, and of preventing the revival of thoſe factions that had ſo long torn the boſom of the Republic; I therefore invited to dinner the general officers, who were deputed to the Legiſlative Body, particularly Pichegru and Jourdan, whom I wiſhed to reconcile —

Jourdan came, but Pichegru ſtaid away, although he had promiſed.—Since that time, I invited him again, for I was deſirous of knowing the real ſtate of his mind; but, as he conſtantly made excuſes, I at length deſiſted from repeating my invitations.

He waited on me, however, one evening, together with eight or ten others of the repreſentatives of the people; but they only came by accident, and did not ſtay above two or three minutes in my garden, where I received them. Pichegru did not once ſpeak to me, nor did I addreſs myſelf to him.

Theſe were the only occaſions on which I have ſeen Pichegru ſince his admiſſion into the Legiſlative Body; this is what Bailleul calls having daily interviews with him privately and confidentially; but if they were ſo, how did Bailleul become acquainted with our meetings? How could he be ſure of them? Is this alſo proved by *official papers in the hands of the miniſters?* Let him name the

places where I met Pichegru, the houſes where we were together, and the perſons who have ſeen us. Have the numerous ſentinels of the Luxembourg ever ſeen him? Have the porters, the ſervants, the ſpies of the little Réveillère, who lived in the ſame ſtaircaſe with myſelf, ever ſeen him?

And as I have not received him at my own apartments, neither have I ſeen him elſewhere; for, during the whole duration of my dictatorial functions, I did not go out a dozen times, except with ſome part of my family—unleſs, indeed, my wife, my ſiſter, my children, my domeſtics, are all ſuppoſed to be the accomplices of my ſecret, confidential interviews with Pichegru!

The aſſertion I am now diſproving is the moſt important of them all. Even ſuppoſing Pichegru was guilty, I might have been deceived in him, and ſeen him without ſuſpicion. But who would have exculpated me from the prejudice which would reſult from it? What an abyſs of calumny

is in the accuſation! WHAT MONSTERS ARE THESE TRIUMVIRS! What a degraded being is this J. Ch. Bailleul!!

A few days previous to the cataſtrophe of the 18th Fructidor, the female citizen Eblé, ſiſter of the celebrated General of artillery, came to my apartments. "Is it then certain, Citizen Carnot, (ſaid ſhe) that Pichegru will deſert the patriots?" I know nothing of it, I replied, but his conduct is by no means calculated to inſpire confidence. —"I am determined (replied ſhe) to go and ſee him. I am determined to read his heart in his countenance, and know the real ſtate of his mind." I approved her determination, and ſhe returned two or three days after, ſaying, "No, Pichegru does not deſert us. He aſks what he ſhall do to prove that he does not abandon the cauſe of the patriots." Pichegru, replied I, muſt aſcend the tribune of the Council of Five Hundred, and there declare himſelf in a manner that will leave no doubt what his real ſentiments are, and ſtrike terror into the conſpirators of the counter-revolution. His actions muſt

correſpond with his words, and in lieu of feeding criminal hopes, by an ambiguity of conduct, he muſt at length rally all the defenders of liberty around the national ſtandard. This, ſaid I, is the only part that is becoming the character of Pichegru, and in doing this there is no time to loſe.

The female citizen Eblé told me ſhe would inſtantly communicate to him my advice. But this happened, I believe, on the 16th Fructidor, and I never ſaw her afterwards. She may be conſulted relative to the fact, and I have no fear of her refuſing to bear an authentic teſtimony to the truth.

Let us hope the Legiſlative Body of the great nation will one day be ſufficiently *free*, to dare modeſtly to demand, of our demi-gods, what proofs they can adduce, that the victim, who eſcaped their murderous knife, in the night between the 17th and 18th Fructidor, had daily interviews with Pichegru.

I am far from wiſhing to decide whether Pichegru was or was not guilty; guilty he certainly was, if a hundredth part of what is ſaid of him in the Committee's Report is true. But when I demonſtrate that, with regard to all the facts that are thoroughly known to me, this Report has violently diſtorted the truth with the utmoſt degree of impudence and perfidy, it is ſurely allowable to ſuppoſe they have not treated it with more reſpect in what relates to others, when we behold them carrying their injuſtice ſo far as to depreciate the ſervices of Pichegru, as commander in chief of the Army of the North, and reduce them to nothing, merely leſt the world ſhould place theſe ſervices in the ſcale againſt the crimes with which they accuſe him.

If Pichegru is innocent, the ſame inſcription may be put upon his tomb as on that of Scipio, which ſtill exiſts in the vicinity of Naples:

"Ingrata patria! neque oſſa mea habebis."

'*A declared advocate of kings, he exclaimed, when the Republican directors made ſuch propo-*

ſals for peace as were honourable to France, YOU ARE DESIROUS, THEN, TO OPPRESS THE EMPEROR.'

Was I the advocate of kings, when I voted for the death of the King of France, and made every other king tremble upon his throne?— And you, Bailleul, how did you ſignalize yourſelf in this celebrated ſtruggle, while the reſult was doubtful? Aſk theſe kings which they love beſt, an advocate like me, or a valet like yourſelf?

'*Republican directors!*' I know of none ſuch among the triumvirs — I know only of aſſaſſins of the Republic and of the Conſtitutution.

'*Honourable propoſals!*' Where are they? Can any thing honourable be propoſed by men deſtitute of every principle of honour and of juſtice? Does not truth itſelf become falſehood when it paſſes through their corrupted organs? Would not honour itſelf, could it approach them,

be tarniſhed by their infected breath? would it not expire on their gangrened lips?

If it was I who prevented the adoption of their *honourable propoſals*, they ought to have renewed them when I ceaſed to be a member of the Directory; they ought to have explained their new conditions in the Treaty of Campo Formio. But where are theſe condition? In what reſpect is the Emperor more oppreſſed by this Treaty than by that of Leoben? The Treaty of Campo Formio is not even ſo favourable as that of Leoben, as I ſhall preſently demonſtrate.

It was in their power to have concluded the peace five months earlier, on the conditions that have been adopted; and it was becauſe I was deſirous it ſhould be concluded immediately, it was becauſe I was unwilling that hoſtilities ſhould be renewed, or that they ſhould place the Republic in new dilemmas and difficulties (as I myſelf wrote to Bonaparte), that they ſaid I was fearful of their oppreſſing the Emperor.

Will they talk of the ſurrender of Mentz? But it was I who propoſed not to evacuate Palma-nova, till the Emperor had retired from Mentz, and from the whole right bank of the Rhine. It was I who wrote various letters to Bonaparte on this ſubject. Our *Republican directors* paid it no attention whatever.

'YOU ARE DESIROUS, THEN, TO OPPRESS THE EMPEROR.'

Theſe are not my words, Bailleul; no; I ſaid to theſe political Quixotes, "You are not, then, "deſirous of peace with the Emperor. If your "conditions are ſo *oppreſſive* to him, that it is "impoſſible for him to accept them without "evidently incurring his own deſtruction, you "had better frankly declare that you mean to "reſume hoſtilities, and are reſolved on a war "of extermination." At theſe words, Réveillière leaped upon his ſeat, and ſaid he knew not whether he ought not to break up the ſitting. I obſerved to Réveillière, that I only repeated what Bonaparte had frequently written, that no

peace could be permanent, the conditions of which were intolerable to the vanquiſhed party; that, otherwiſe, a leven of irritation would remain, which ſooner or later would produce a fatal exploſion. This explanation ſeemed to pacify the acrimonious viper, who coiled himſelf again on his chair.

In this place I muſt unveil the atrocious perfidy of theſe three miſcreants. — BONAPARTE WAS EVER ODIOUS TO THEM, AND THEY NEVER LOST SIGHT OF THEIR DETERMINATION TO DESTROY HIM. From this accuſation I do not even except Barras; the gnaſhing of his teeth, when that General ſent Sahuguet to Marſeilles, his exclamations againſt the preliminaries of Leoben, his groſs and calumnious ſarcaſms on a perſon who muſt be dear to Bonaparte, prove the blackneſs of his inmoſt thoughts. This man, under an outſide of pretended levity, conceals the ferocity of a Caligula.

It is not true that it was he who firſt propoſed the appointment of Bonaparte to the command

of the Army of Italy; it was I who propoſed him. But on this point they have waited till time ſhould ſhow how he would ſucceed; and it was only among the intimate friends of Barras that he boaſted of having been the original propoſer of him to the Directory. Had Bonaparte failed, it was I alone that was to bear the blame, for having recommended to that command an inexperienced youth and an intriguer; I ſhould then have been the evident betrayer of my country. The others took no ſhare in the conduct of the war; it was on me that all the reſpoſibility would have fallen. But Bonaparte was triumphant; and, from that moment, it was Barras who cauſed him to be appointed, and to him alone was due all the praiſe. He was his protector, his defender againſt my attacks; while I was jealous of Bonaparte, croſſed him in all his plans, perſecuted him, ſlandered him, refuſed him the neceſſary ſuccours, and was evidently reſolved to ruin him! Such are the filthy excrements of falſehood with which, from time to time, the journals in the pay of Barras are filled.

Some, it is true, there were, who were desirous of ruining Bonaparte. I allude to the famous triumvirate, who were continually trembling lest they should be deprived of their authority and power. The ascendency which that General had acquired, through his innumerable victories, began to goad and torment them. While they attempted to ruin Bonaparte, I was also to be involved in the consequences; and thus the triumvirate would get rid of two of their enemies at once. Then it was evident that I was the secret rival of the Hero of Italy, whose fall I had prepared! My sentence would have been speedily pronounced; and they would have then performed the obsequies of Bonaparte as magnificently as they did those of General Hoche.

But it will be answered, that I ought in my turn to prove my assertions. This would be perfectly easy, if, like Bailleul, I had '*the official papers in the hands of the ministers*' at my dispos'al. Nor will it by any means be impossible, though living in retirement in an obscure village of Germany.

Bonaparte, as that General well remembers, had ſuggeſted, that it would be expedient to diminiſh the number of our enemies, by concluding treaties of peaces with ſome of them. He recommended that we ſhould treat with the King of Sardinia, and ſtill more particularly with the King of Naples. Reubel was appointed to conduct the diplomatic Department, as I was that of the war. What did he do in conſequence of the earneſt requeſt of Bonaparte? — Nothing. What did I ſay? Nothing! Yes, he raiſed innumerable paultry difficulties relative to the Treaty of Piedmont, and abſolutely refuſed to treat with Naples. It was I who, fatigued with theſe affected delays, of which I clearly perceived the object, tranſacted alone (except a few obſervations of Charles de la Croix) the Treaty with Sardinia, which, I believe, is by no means the worſt. It was I, too, who ſet that of Naples on foot; and, being unable to procure a ſerious deliberation on this ſubject at the Directory, called a meeting of ſome of its members to draw up the articles of the Treaty.

This meeting took place the ſame evening between Le Tourneur, La Révellière, and myſelf, at the reſidence of the latter. Had Barras been a friend to Bonaparte, knowing as he did the wiſhes of that General, that we ſhould treat immediately, he would have attended this meeting, in order to accelerate its object. But on the contrary, he abſented himſelf, and Reubel ſtayed at home to meditate new expedients and evaſions for the enſuing day. The Treaty, however, was drawn up in a ſingle evening, and the next day, notwithſtanding the accuſtomed apathy of Barras; notwithſtanding his diſdainful air, which ſhame prevented him from manifeſting by a direct refuſal; notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Reubel; notwithſtanding his favourite cry of, '*honourable conditions*,' and his poſitive declaration that he would not ſign the Treaty, it was, as it were, wreſted from them by force, and inſtantly concluded.

This, I am of opinion, was the greateſt ſervice it was poſſible for me to render my country, in the circumſtances which we were

then placed. But this infringement on the diplomatic province of Reubel, which the ſituation of affairs rendered indiſpenſably neceſſary, was an affront never to be forgiven by that deceitful and vindictive ſtateſman.

Although the collective force of the enemies oppoſed to Bonaparte was thus conſiderably diminiſhed, and although he had now his flanks and his rear free from annoyance, yet he had not ſufficient forces to procure him any deciſive advantages over the Emperor. He demanded a ſuccour of 15,000 men; I formed a plan for ſending him 30,000. The neceſſary orders were immediately communicated to the army of the Rhine and Moſelle, and to that of the Sambre and Meuſe, to detach without delay, and as ſecretly as poſſible, 15,000 men each to join the army of Italy, filing off under various pretexts along the frontiers of Switzerland. It was a ſimilar movement of 40,000 men, detached from the army of the Moſelle towards the Meuſe, under the orders of Jourdan, at the moment when they were expected to march towards the

Rhine, that decided, in the year 1793, the fate of that famous campaign.

The 30,000 men, deſtined for the army of Italy, were to be at firſt detached from the army of the Rhine and Moſelle, and then one-half the number replaced from that of the Sambre and Meuſe. Never were orders more punctually or more faithfully executed. Moreau, who foreſaw the poſſibility of an arrangement of that nature, had long held a body of troops in reſerve for that purpoſe; and although his army was in a worſe condition than the other, becauſe it could not like that live at the expences of the enemy, and the poverty of the finances prevented any relief being given to their neceſſities, yet he made ſome ſacrifices, in order that the *corps de reſerve* might be tolerably well equipped, and ready to depart at the firſt ſignal. The ſignal was given, and the troops marched and arrived on the frontiers of Montblanc, before the enemy could ſuſpect they were deſtined for the army of Italy.

O Moreau! O beloved Fabius of France! how great didſt thou appear in this glorious tranſaction! how ſuperior wert thou to thoſe petty rivalſhips that ſometimes cauſe the beſt concerted projects to miſcarry! Let men accuſe thee, on the one hand, of not having denounced Pichegru, and on the other for denouncing him; all I know is, that my heart whiſpers me, that Moreau cannot be guilty. Yes, my heart proclaims thee a true hero. Yes, poſterity will be more juſt than thy cotemporaries, and will erect altars to thy memory.

'*Even the political exiſtence of the Pope was dear to him.*'

It is moſt probable, ſince Bailleul does not ſay any thing that is not '*ſupported by official papers in the hands of the miniſters*,' that there muſt have been found, among thoſe papers, a correſpondence between Pius VI. and myſelf, which muſt have been intercepted! Why then does not Bailleul amuſe the public with ſome

extracts from this correſpondence? The Pope, no doubt, muſt have ſent me ſome relics and plenary indulgences to bring me over to his intereſts, and theſe muſt have been ſeized when the ſeals were put upon my papers!

The little Réveillère was in fact *ſo much afraid of the Pope* that he continually fancied he ſaw him purſuing him, and holding up his fingers to give him his benediction. The Vicar of Chriſt was a dangerous rival to a man who was alſo deſirous of becoming the head of a ſect. One night Réveillère formed the deſign of becoming a Great Man. We ought never to reſiſt inſpirations from above—but how was ſo laudable an object to be attained? After deep conſideration, Réveillère determined to become one of the Theophilanthropiſts. This, it is true, might be conſidered as a new road to the temple of Fame, although it had already been tried by ſeveral. But we ſhould recollect, that although Sir Iſaac Newton was not the original diſcoverer of the principle of gravity, he is nevertheleſs conſidered

as the author of the ſyſtem of attraction, becauſe it was he who diſcovered its laws, and fixed its proportions.

Réveillère then, who diſbelieves the exiſtence of a God, and paſſes his life in tormenting mankind, enrolled himſelf among thoſe who profeſſed to be worſhippers of the Supreme Being and benefactors of the human race; and dreaming that he was already the founder of a new religion, that he was another Mahomet, he immediately ſet about compoſing his Koran. This work, to produce which he tortured all his mental powers during ſeveral months (not having, like his predeceſſor, a pigeon to whiſper in his ears), ſhows the exact extent of his capacity. This *chef d'œuvre* was read to the National Inſtitute, and nothing but the high dignity of the author reſtrained the laughter of the audience, who pinched and tormented themſelves to avoid ſleeping. But, alas! they were not delighted as they ought to have been at hearing this work: it was too profound to be intelligible to the members of the Inſtitute. He received

no compliments, and the journals even forgot to notice it. Réveillère was ſtung to the ſoul at this neglect, and from that moment became captious, peeviſh, and a planner of new revolutions: unable to be a Mahomet, he now reſolved to be a Cid.

The Catholic religion in particular became the object of his Theophilanthropic rage: and all who laughed at the name of Theophilanthropiſt, all who thought of the Theophilanthropiſts as Cicero did of the Aruſpices, were conſidered by Réveillère as furious Papiſts. I had the mortification to be no admirer of the dogmas of this new ſect, though I did not abſolutely ridicule them. Univerſal toleration is the only dogma I profeſs. I think the balance is nearly equal between the good ariſing from ſincere religion, and the evil from its abuſes; I abhor fanaticiſm, and am of opinion that the fanaticiſm of irreligion, which was brought into faſhion by the *Marats* and the *Peres Duchêne*, is the moſt baneful of all. In a word, I think we ought not to put men to death to make

them believe, nor to prevent their believing, but that we ought to pity the weakneſſes of others, ſince each of us has ſome of his own, and leave prejudices to wear themſelves out by time, when we cannot overcome them by reaſon.

I am nearly of the ſame opinion with regard to the liberty of the preſs. The abuſe of that liberty is, no doubt, a great evil, but an attempt to fix its limits is a ſtill greater. I am of opinion that the licentiouſneſs of the preſs produces in time its own remedy; that there is neither civil nor political liberty wherever the preſs is not free; that we muſt unavoidably either ſubmit to an arbitrary government, or endure the editors of newſpapers. Yet no one has been more the victim of their calumnies than myſelf.

Such is my creed on theſe two important points; erroneous perhaps in its theory, but ſurely it may be maintained without incurring criminality. I have often declared it to the

Directory, but to them it is an unintelligible language: it might with equal hope of ſucceſs be propoſed to the Grand Signor to throw open his ſeraglio to all the youth of Conſtantinople. Our republican Directors wiſh France to be under the dominion of a political inquiſition, and to become a vaſt living tomb, reſembling the priſons of Genoa, on the gates of which was inſcribed, as it were in deriſion, the word *Libertas*.

But to return to the Pope. Réveillère, who believes that whoever is not a Theophilanthropiſt muſt neceſſarily be a Catholic and ought to be crucified, thought he beheld in me a ſtaunch friend of the court of Rome. I had beſtowed much praiſe on Bonaparte for having diſdained the empty glory of marching againſt that city, in order to attack a more dangerous enemy, the defeat of whom muſt neceſſarily cauſe the fall of Rome and of all the ſtates of Italy. The Theophilanthropiſt, on the contrary, was deſirous that the army ſhould march directly to the Capitol, and chant a hymn over the tomb

of the Gracchi. To him the carrying off the worm-eaten Virgin of Loretto appeared a far more important victory than the bearing away in triumph the ſtandards of the batallion of Vienna.

I might have renounced both Jeſus Chriſt and the Pope a hundred times a day, yet it would have been impoſſible to perſuade Réveillère but that I was one of the moſt rigid of Catholics. Great men have ſometimes certain moral diſorders of which it is extremely difficult to cure them: Paſcal fancied himſelf conſtantly plunged up to the navel in a river. Réveillère continually fancies himſelf in a veſſel of holy water. But we ought to forgive this weakneſs, in conſideration of the *memorable ſervices* he has rendered to his country. He is one of our faviours, and all who behold this "lamb without blemiſh" ſhould exclaim with the Italian preacher, *Ecco il vero policinello!*

'*He was for converting all our conqueſts into ſeparate kingdoms, and the creation of a kingdom*

of Lombardy particularly flattered his imagination; and Barthelemy ſhowed, by the moſt ſignificant nods, how much this ſyſtem pleaſed him.'

My memory is ſo treacherous, on this occaſion, that I ſhould have been glad if Bailleul had proved this fact, by citing ſome paſſages from '*the official papers in the hands of the miniſters*,' by which, as he has declared, all the facts advanced by him are confirmed. It ſeems that on this point I have not reſerved my plans *in petto*, but that I have explicitly propoſed them to the Directory. I muſt have fully explained my ſyſtem, ſince Barthelemy expreſſed his approbation by '*ſignificant nods*.' Could no traces of all this be found in the journals of the Directory, and the *procès-verbaux* of their ſittings, where every thing of importance that paſſes is taken down? Each member has a right, according to the Conſtitution, to record his opinion on the journals; and this is very frequently done.

The Directory, who, according to the expreſſion of Barras in his ſpeech to Bonaparte, had

'*long ſince premeditated in its wiſdom*' the immortal victory of the 18th Fructidor, had now a very fine opportunity of convicting me of royaliſm, and of preparing an act of accuſation againſt me which I could not have rebutted, when the great day ſhould come; by inſcribing in the *procès-verbal* the thundering anſwer each of the members muſt have made to me, when I had the baſeneſs to propoſe the converſion of all our conqueſts into ſo many kingdoms.

What ſay you to this, Bailleul? Confeſs that it is an unpardonable omiſſion. This is really a blunder, and the moſt ſkilful men ſometimes commit them. I have, however, already obſerved to you, Bailleul, that you took full ſix months to give a ſemblance of truth to your lies; but, for want of theſe precious documents, which would have thrown ſo much light on the ſecret ſprings of the conſpiracy, I am obliged to have recourſe to the repoſitory of my memory for the grounds on which the triumvirates have built this impertinent falſehood; at length,

I think, I have diſcovered a ſlender clue that leads to it. Here it is.

I recommended giving to the Duke of Parma ſome portions of the Papal territories, (notwithſtanding my affection for his holineſs), and part of thoſe of Modena in exchange for Louiſiana and Florida, which the King of Spain was to have ceded to us for the ſake of procuring a more conſiderable eſtabliſhment for the Infant. In this I perceived two advantages; 1ſt, The advantage, not of creating a new republic in Europe, but, on the contrary, *of republicanizing a fine extenſive tract of country in America, which would have given us ſo great an influence over the United States*, and of which the blunderers, or the traitors, who negotiated the Treaty with Spain did not procure the ceſſion, although it was perfectly eaſy to be obtained. 2d. That of oppoſing a ſtronger barrier to the Emperor in Italy than the Ciſalpine Republic alone; for the King of Spain being thereby powerfully intereſted in the protection of that country, would have been an

important counterpoiſe to the Houſe of Auſtria. Add to this, it would have been a farther means of ſecuring the continuance of peace, and of the alliance of the French Republic with Spain: for then, Spain would have felt the want of us to aſſiſt her in oppoſing the Emperor in Italy; and had ſhe been inclined to declare war, ſhe would have been expoſed to be attacked by us in two places at once. This, then, was the beſt pledge we could receive of a permanent alliance with Spain. But the penetrating eye of the triumvirate immediately diſcovered, that the true object was to revive the kingdom of Lombardy; and the dread of this imaginary kingdom prevented them from aggrandizing the Republic with an immenſe territory now uſeleſs and even prejudicial to Spain, and from holding out their helping hand to thoſe Frenchmen who have ſo long been panting for a re-union with their true mother-country—much to the honour of our *republican directors!*

As to that multitude of petty kingdoms with which (like ſo many planets) I was deſirous of

ſurrounding the ſun of the Republic, although this is particularly calculated to *flatter the imagination*, I confeſs I have not the ſmalleſt recollection of it whatever; but, I promiſe Bailleul, to anſwer him on this point as ſoon as he ſhall produce the *official papers* which are in the hands of the miniſters.

The ſignificant nods of Barthelemy are alſo, no doubt, among the *official papers in the hands of the miniſters*, and Bailleul will one day tell us in what ſhape they appear there. Poor Barthelemy would be extremely aſtoniſhed were it announced to him, on the bed of ſtraw where his infirmities repoſe in a country of ſavages, that he was ſent thither for his *ſignificant nods* when I propoſed the creation of kingdoms. " Alas!" he would ſay, " I thought I had never heard my colleague Carnot talk of kingdoms but to deſtroy them. Let me, I beſeech you, die in peace among theſe good people who are far leſs deſerving the name of ſavages than yourſelves. Go, depart from theſe huts into which corruption has never yet found its way. Is it poſſible

that any government ſhould be reduced to the neceſſity of juſtifying its acts of cruelty, by recurring to ſuch baſe artifices, ſuch barefaced lies ? "

I have now exhauſted the article of the text relative to myſelf in the Report of Bailleul. I proceed to the note (p. 52 and 53). Here, no doubt, the grand ſecrets will all be divulged.

' *It was not merely by ſupporting the cauſe of Auſtria, and ſaying it was intended to oppreſs her, that Carnot betrayed the ſyſtem he was ſecretly purſuing in order to overthrow the Republic !*'

' *When the affairs of Holland were under diſcuſſion; when the plan of the treaty was digeſting, wherein it was intended faithfully to perform the promiſe made to that new republic, not to ſeparate our intereſts from hers; when the means were under conſideration, by which that country might be reſcued from the convulſions with which it was*

equally threatened by the Stadtholderians and the Anarchiſts; when meaſures were ſought for by which a government might be eſtabliſhed in that country, and its liberty ſecured, Carnot maintained that Holland muſt be ſacrificed, that we ought to be indifferent to her fate, and that we ought not to make ourſelves uneaſy ſhould England keep ſome of her ſettlements. Let them fight,' ſaid he, 'as long as they will; to us, that will be no great diſadvantage.'

Whence, Bailleul, did you get all theſe fine things? not from the *official papers in the hands of the miniſters:* for words are not placed in the hands of the miniſters, and, particularly, words ſpoken in the ſittings of the Directory; you muſt, then, have received them from our auguſt directors, whoſe veracity they fully demonſtrate. It is curious to hear a Reubel talk of fidelity; it is curious to hear the triumvirate unfold their principles of morality, and accuſe *him* of violating its precepts who has been ruined merely by his adherence to principle and to the laws, and becauſe he would not employ any other arms than

principle and the laws, againſt men who advanced to the combat with all the weapons of *Machiavelijm* and of crimes.

But you yourſelf, Bailleul, you who are their faithful interpreter, do you not (in p. 47) deliver their profeſſion of faith and your own, when you ſay to the Legiſlative Body, '*I repeat it, Let us baniſh theſe abſurd theories of pretended principles, theſe ſtupid innovations of the Conſtitution?*' The whole of your own ſyſtem, and that of your heroes, is compriſed in theſe few words: — Principle is only fit for fools; — the Conſtitution is only fit for fools; — honour and fidelity to our engagements are only fit for fools; — there is no ſuch thing as right, but for him who is the ſtrongeſt; — all other theories of pretended principles are abſurd, and he who appeals to them is a dolt!

Have not the events of the 18th Fructidor demonſtrated this? And, beſides, *it is needleſs to prove the exiſtence of light.* All the annals of antiquity are in favour of the ſyſtem of Bailleul!

The ſtupid Ariſtides was baniſhed from his native country; the ſtupid Miltiades died in priſon; the ſtupid Socrates ſwallowed hemlock; the ſtupid Cato was reduced to the neceſſity of putting an end to his own exiſtence; the ſtupid Cicero was aſſaſſinated by order of the triumvirs; the ſtupid Phocion, when an Athenian, who ſaw him conducted to priſon, cried out "Oh! worthy old man, who could have believed it poſſible thou ſhouldſt come to ſuch an end!" replied, "Have not all thoſe, who have rendered important ſervices to their country, experienced a ſimilar fate?"

You, Bailleul, have laid down in your work ſome moſt admirable maxims, far-ſuperior to the dull precepts of philoſophy!

But let us return to the ſubject of Holland.—Never was it under diſcuſſion with the Executive Directory, to find means of *reſcuing that country from the convulſions with which the Stadtholderians and the Anarchiſts equally threatened it.* Never did they talk of *meaſures to be taken to eſtabliſh a government and ſecure their liberty*

I defy any one to find a word on the ſubject in their journals, except a few letters, written by myſelf to the Generals, on the internal police of the country. Our *Republican directors* were employing themſelves on much more important affairs, on *propoſitions far more honourable to France!* They were buſy in inquiring HOW THEY MIGHT PLUNDER HOLLAND, and *by what lure they could induce the Dutch themſelves to aſſiſt in this generous deſign!*

At the diſcuſſion which was held, to determine on what footing that country ſhould be placed, in the Treaty then negotiating at Liſle with Lord Malmeſbury, Reubel made a violent harangue againſt the Batavian nation. He ſaid, they were all Stadtholderians, and had conſtantly betrayed us. They were a nation of merchants, whoſe intereſts were centered in England, whoſe wiſhes were in favour of the Engliſh, who were only watching for an opportunity to ſurrender themſelves to the Engliſh, into whoſe hands Admiral T. Lucas had recently delivered his fleet at the Cape of Good Hope.

Every thing that Holland had to gain in proſperity and in riches, it was evident, could only be at the expence of France, and to the advantage of England. In ſhort, there was but one line of conduct to purſue with regard to Holland—'TO KEEP HER IN THE MOST ABSOLUTE DEPENDENCE — TO SUBJECT HER TO A PASSIVE OBEDIENCE — AND TO TREAT HER AS A CONQUERED COUNTRY !!!'

"If this be ſo," ſaid I, "we are very unwiſe to continue the war merely for the reſtoration of their colonies; or, when our own are offered us, to exhauſt the remains of our marine in vain efforts to ſerve ſo ungrateful a nation. I am of opinion that Holland ſhould be aſked, what ſacrifices ſhe is willing to make to obtain peace."

"But, do you imagine," replied Reubel, "that it is for Holland that I would demand the reſtitution of the Cape and Trincomale? The firſt object is that of recovering the poſſeſſion of them, for which purpoſe the Dutch muſt furniſh the ſhips and the money, and afterwards I will

clearly convince them that theſe colonies belong to us!!!"

I was not a little ſtruck with the deep policy of Reubel, and I clearly perceived that he had dived to the bottom of his ſubject. I was deſirous, however, that he ſhould explicitly declare what was intended to be done at Liſle, that it might be underſtood whether there was a real wiſh to effect a pacification, or merely to impoſe on the world. It was neceſſary that the deliberation ſhould be brought to a concluſion. The plenipotentiaries were urgent to receive poſitive inſtructions. At length we concluded (and Reubel himſelf was the ſpeaker) by ordering the Miniſter of Foreign Affairs to write, that, with reſpect to the Batavians, the Directory had fulfilled the duties of a faithful ally, by declaring they would not give up any of their poſſeſſions, but that it now remained for them to ſay *what ſacrifices they could reſolve on for the ſake of peace; that if it was their determination not to give up any thing, they ſhould declare what reſources they would offer for the continuance of the*

war; that if theſe reſources, added to thoſe of France, were inadequate to thoſe which the Engliſh would employ againſt them, France would then be neceſſitated to make a ſeparate peace.

Thus, Bailleul, you perceive that my concluſions were adopted. But it was done merely through reſpect, and becauſe they could not act otherwiſe, without proving themſelves reſolved, at any rate, to continue the war. All that I know, is, that ſuch was the reſult of the deliberation. The official document exiſts in the hands of the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs; and it proves, that on this, as on every other point, *you impoſed on the Legiſlative Body and the whole nation.*

Now that the Directory, no longer reſtrained by the fear of oppoſition, HAVE TAKEN OFF THE MASK; now that they have declared they would not lay down their arms *till England ſhould be exterminated;* they have nothing left to do but to gloſs over their fury for maſſacres with all that can ſeduce a people who place

implicit confidence in their leaders, and excite their enthuſiaſm in the cauſe. It is evident, on the other hand, that they perſuaded the Dutch that it is merely on their account, and through a ſtrict fidelity to their engagements to them, that they make this great ſacrifice of peace and of national proſperity.

Confeſs, then, Bailleul, that if the practice of fidelity is only calculated for the *ſtupid*, the term is at leaſt convenient to men of talents. But you are not, perhaps, aware, that in holding this language you are making the Directory contract *never to treat with the Engliſh ſo long as they ſhall perſiſt in retaining any part of their Dutch conqueſts;* that is, you are announcing to all France, that there remains no hope whatever of peace; that the honour of the nation requires that the Republic ſhould no longer enjoy any commerce; that Martinique ſhould be definitively ſacrificed; the Eaſt India ſettlements irretrievably given up to Great Britain; and that our allies ſhould be, in point of *fact*, completely ſacrificed, provided that, in point of

right, neither they nor ourſelves have given up the ſmalleſt portion of their territorial poſſeſſions. It clearly appears, that there are lawyers in the Executive Directory! And theſe are what are called *honourable propoſals*, worthy of our *Republican directors!*

'*When the republican troops were defending Kehl with ſo much bravery, Carnot maintained that this fort could not be preſerved, and that it was a folly to defend it. And yet, had not the long defence of that poſt detained the enemy's army before it, that army would have marched to the relief of the Imperial troops in Italy.*'

In ſupport of this aſſertion, I appeal to the *official papers*, whence it will appear with what effrontery this BAREFACED LIE is penned.—Let all the letters I have written on this ſubject be read, and it will be ſeen that I have a thouſand and a thouſand times laid down the neceſſity of defending Kehl to the laſt extremity. A great many lives, it is true, were ſacrificed there; and had our *Republican directors* ſeen no

object in the defence of Kehl, but that of a ſingle poſt, they would have ſacrificed the whole army to preſerve it, without knowing what advantage would be derived from it. This advantage I afterwards explained to them. The obſtinacy with which I perſiſted in defending Kehl aroſe, in fact, from my wiſh to detain Prince Charles on the banks of the Rhine, by working upon his ſelf-love, and thus to prevent him from marching into Italy. Prince Charles committed that grand error; and, in lieu of abandoning Kehl (where nothing could be done during the winter, on account of the ſnows that prevented the French from penetrating again into Swabia), and flying to relieve Mantua, he perſiſted in his determination to take this fort, and was too late to relieve that city.

The whole of this ſyſtem is detailed in innumerable letters which I wrote, on this ſubject, to the army. But my colleagues, except Le Tourneur, did not even know their contents; they ſigned them confidentially; and I have, from time to time, joked with them on this

ſubject, and reminded them of their unjuſtly reproaching me on the ſubject of ſignatures, when I was a member of the Committee of Public Safety. But they then ſtood in need of my co-operation and ſupport; and it was not till the danger was paſſed and there was nothing more to be done, that theſe *Republican and honourable directors* thought proper to ſend me to Guyana.

When Kehl was reduced to the laſt extremity, when Moreau diſpatched a courier to inform us that he was loſing a prodigious number of his troops, and that he was in danger of having his bridges deſtroyed and his retreat to Straſburg cut off, I propoſed to empower that general to ſurrender the fort as ſoon as he ſhould judge it indiſpenſably neceſſary for the preſervation of the army. But Reubel, who makes a ſport of ſacrificing the defenders of our country, who, deteſting Moreau, was deſirous of involving him in misfortunes, oppoſed the ſurrender of Kehl, and I had great difficulty in procuring permiſſion to ſtop the effuſion of human blood;

nor did I at length ſucceed but by rendering this Reubel, and his worthy rivals in cruelty, reſponſible for all that ſhould be uſeleſſly ſhed. The danger was ſo imminent that Moreau could not wait for this laſt anſwer, his bridges being broken and upon the point of giving way under his troops.

'When the laſt paſſage over the Rhine was under diſcuſſion, Carnot continually retarded it, notwithſtanding it was inceſſantly urged to him how uſeful this diverſion would be to the army of Italy: he always maintained that this movement was impracticable, and that all was not ready, although the whole army can atteſt the contrary; he would not even admit of a feint of that nature, which would have drawn the imperial troops to that ſide, and would have relieved and encouraged the army of Italy, which was in a ſituation of diſtreſs. He even wrote to the army of Italy, that the army of the Rhine could not paſs that river within two months at ſooneſt. It was at this time that the Treaty of Leoben was concluded, wherein ſome ſacrifices were conſented

to, which would not have been neceſſary had the enemy been attacked on both ſides at once. No ſooner did the ſignature of that treaty tranſpire, than Carnot came forward inſtantly, with every arrangement ready for the paſſage of the Rhine, for which orders were given the very ſame day.'

There are no facts here ſtated but what are proved to be abſurd by the *official papers*; and the major part are abſolutely impoſſible.

The Treaty of Leoben was ſigned on the 18th of April, at a diſtance of nearly 300 leagues from Paris, where the news could not arrive till ſix days after at the ſooneſt, that is, till the 24th.

But the paſſage of the Rhine took place on the 20th of April, and therefore was effected four days before the Treaty of Leoben was known at Paris, it could by no means, therefore, be reſolved on in conſequence of that intelligence arriving at Paris. LIARS, Bailleul, ought to be more accurate in calculating dates.

The paſſage of the Rhine took place two days after the ſignature of the Treaty of Leoben, conſequently it was impoſſible it ſhould be known either at Paris or at Straſburg. It follows, therefore, that the paſſage of the Rhine was neither ordered nor executed in conſequence of the intelligence of the Treaty of Leoben being ſigned.

Do you not perceive, Bailleul, that your aſſertion reſembles that of a certain honourable witneſs, who ſwore that he had ſeen a murder perpetrated by moon-light, on a night when there was no moon? This honourable witneſs, it is ſaid, was, like you, honourable Bailleul, from Normandy! The Directory know how to chuſe their agents: All that you have ſaid is, nevertheleſs, proved by *official papers in the cuſtody of the miniſters.*

Not only the paſſage of the Rhine did not take place in conſequence of an order given ſubſequently to the knowledge of the Treaty of Leoben, but all hoſtilities had already ceaſed upon the Rhine when the news of the Treaty of

Leoben arrived at Paris. A courier extraordinary, ſent through Germany to the Generals of the army of the Rhine, produced this ceſſation of hoſtilities.

In conſequence of what orders then did Moreau paſs the Rhine on the 20th of April? He muſt neceſſarily have acted either in conformity to orders given long before, which could not till then be obeyed, and therefore YOU LIE when you ſay that no former orders exiſted, or it was in conſequence of recent orders. But as the Rhine was in fact paſſed on the 20th of April, the orders muſt at the lateſt have left Paris on the 17th, and therefore the moſt recent orders that could have been given for the paſſage of the Rhine, muſt have been at leaſt ſeven days anterior to the earlieſt intelligence that could arrive at Paris of the Treaty of Leoben. This all Europe knows, honeſt Bailleul, yet even this does not prevent you from declaring, in the face of all Europe, and that from *official papers in the hands of the miniſters*, that the paſſage of the Rhine was ordered merely in conſequence

of the intelligence of the ſignature of the Treaty of Leoben.

Let us now examine the *honourable* conſequences of your officious lies, with regard to our *Republican directors*.

The intelligence of the Treaty of Leoben having arrived at Paris, at the ſooneſt, on the 24th of April, as I have proved, and the orders to paſs the Rhine having been given, as you aſſert, on the ſame day, there were on the 24th orders ready ſigned by the Executive Directory for paſſing the Rhine; but the Rhine being paſſed on the 20th, the news of that movement arrived at Paris on the 22d; that is to ſay, I propoſed to the Directory to order the army to paſs the Rhine two days after all Paris knew the Rhine had been actually paſſed, and the Directory ſigned this order. Much to the honour of the *Republican directors* — and to the honour of yourſelf, J. Ch. Bailleul!!!

And the Directory ſigned this order without remembering, that, on the 17th of April, that is, ſeven days before, they muſt have ſigned a ſimilar order, ſince in fact the Rhine had been paſſed on the 20th. Yet they ſaw me come forward inſtantly *with every arrangement ready*, without remembering that ſeven days before they had already ſeen me come forward in the ſame manner *with every arrangement ready*. Thus, then, were the *Republican directors* perfectly well informed of the affairs of the Republic! And all this is proved *by official papers in the hands of the miniſters!* If you are not *ſtupid*, honeſt Bailleul, you are at leaſt ſometimes rather ſimple!

I am aware, honeſt Bailleul, how tedious theſe odious calculations muſt appear to you; but allow me to purſue them a little farther, they are neceſſary for my juſtification; and I am fully convinced you are very happy, as well as the Directory, that I am able to prove my innocence!

The whole army, you ſay, can atteſt that every preparation had been made long before for paſſing the Rhine, and that they were only waiting for the orders of the Directory. But, ſince the triumvirate, honeſt Bailleul, knew this, why did they not, without regarding my objections, give orders for the paſſage of the Rhine? Did they not form a majority in the Directory? Have you not, in the preceding article, declared that it was contrary to my opinion that they had cauſed the fortreſs of Kehl to be defended to the laſt extremity? Why, then, did they not alſo cauſe the Rhine to be paſſed contrary to my opinion? I had made a treaty of peace againſt the opinion of Reubel; ſurely he might have given orders for a military operation without my interference! How can they explain this complaiſance, for a man by whom they knew they were deceived. If they were not yet perfectly certain that every thing was prepared for paſſing the Rhine, although *the whole army can prove that every thing was ready*, could they not inform themſelves of the fact by ſending thither a confidential perſon? Could they not, as

you have ingeniouſly ſaid, *make a feint at leaſt of paſſing the Rhine?* Did this neglect ariſe from their puſillanimity, their carleſſneſs, or their treachery? It is to you, honeſt Bailleul, that I leave the deciſion of this queſtion.

The paſſage of the Rhine, you ſay, was ordered the ſame day that intelligence arrived of the Treaty of Leoben; but do you obſerve, honeſt Bailleul, the encomium you hereby beſtow on the fidelity and honour of the Directory, of which you ſo loudly boaſt? Having learnt that a treaty is concluded, the very firſt act they perform is to give orders for the violation of it: — they give orders for a bloody battle the very moment they receive intelligence of the ceſſation of hoſtilities!

But ſuppoſing, as you would artfully inſinuate, that the official news of the Treaty had not yet arrived, that it had only *tranſpired;* was not a rumour, ſpread abroad among the public, a ſufficient inducement to wait a few hours for the arrival of the courier with diſpatches, before

orders for new maſſacres were iſſued? I had, therefore, ſufficient ground for ſaying, that theſe humane directors ſported with the lives of men, as you, honeſt Bailleul, ſport with truth, and principal, and honour.

Produce this letter which you ſay I wrote on the very day the news of the Treaty of Leoben arrived. You deny that any orders were previouſly given to paſs the Rhine, although innumerable orders to that effect exiſt in the official papers. You aſſert with the boldeſt effrontery, that orders were given on that very day, whereas the fact is evidently abſurd and impoſſible. Thus do you accumulate lies and contradictions with equal impudence and folly. Moſt aſſuredly you deſerve to be made an ambaſſador, or your lords and maſters are unpardonably ungrateful!

Obſerve, honeſt Bailleul, that I have no official papers to refer to. I deny the facts, however, becauſe I can rely with certainty on my memory; and I demonſtrate your impoſtures, becauſe you have been aukward enough, notwith-

ſtanding the time you have employed, and calculated ſo ill, that you have left me the means of proving them phyſically impoſſible. The Directory have every thing in their own hands, and may make uſe of whatever ſuits their purpoſe, and lay aſide what oppoſes it, putting half ſentences in Italics, in order to diſtort the meaning. The mere want of accuſation, after ſo elaborate an exertion, would ſuffice to prove my innocence, in the eyes of every reaſonable perſon. I wonder they have not cauſed ſpurious papers to be fabricated, and my ſignature to be forged; for they are, like you, above thoſe idle ſcruples, which are calculated only for the *ſtupid*.

But, whether they fabricate ſpurious papers or not, '*truth and time, that reveal all things*' (as you very juſtly remark, in p. 6), will ultimately prevail, and thus the biters will be bit. Thoſe muſt expect to meet with many rocks, who take ſo much pains to embark on a ſea of perfidy. I have demonſtrated their HORRID LIES: how, then, can they dare to expect that they

ſhall be any longer believed? A word or two more on the Rhine, Bailleul, and I will then diſmiſs this ſubject, which, I am ſenſible, muſt have made you *ſweat* already.

What! did the directors who, as they themſelves confeſs, have ſo long been planning in *their wiſdom* the means of ruining me; who, for this purpoſe, carried on a private correſpondence in the army; did the directors let this happy opportunity eſcape! What! did they omit to make the palace of the Directory reſound with the cry of their indignation, when I had the cruelty to propoſe the gratuitous maſſacre of ſeveral thouſand men! Yet, not one among them all roſe to accuſe me; or, aſſuming that ſuperiority which every man muſt feel over a criminal whom he ſurprizes in the very fact, exclaimed, 'Wretch! we have, during two whole months, preſſed and conjured you to order that the Rhine be paſſed, yet you have always raiſed inſurmountable difficulties; and now that we receive intelligence of the ſignature of a treaty, which procures for the Republic that peace for

which we have ſo long been panting, you coldly recommend the violation of the Treaty, and the fruitleſs maſſacre of the defenders of our country ! '

' My colleagues ! (he would have continued, addreſſing the reſt of the directors) I demand that the words I have juſt pronounced be recorded in the *procès-verbal*, as a ground for the future conviction of the criminal, and I recommend to you to follow my example. I demand that a meſſage be immediately ſent to the Legiſlative Body to denounce this traitor and prepare an act of accuſation."

What could I have replied to this charge ? Who, in that body, would have dared to have opened his mouth in my favour ? Had any one attempted to defend me, would he not have been immediately hiſſed down, and compelled to be ſilent ? What corner of the world would have offered me an aſylum againſt the furies that would have purſued me, or the Promethean vulture that would have gnawed my liver ?

On the contrary, what was the fact? Each of theſe benignant directors ſigned, without heſitation or obſervation, the fatal order for a maſſacre, and diſpatched it to the army the very ſame day. Parricidal directors! it is evident you would really have ſigned thoſe abominable orders, had they been offered to you for ſignature. In the blindneſs of your fury, you do not even perceive that you are accuſing yourſelves; the confeſſion of the crime eſcapes you unawares. You miſs your prey, are caught in your own ſnare, and remain bound to the ſtake of ignominy — AND THERE MAY YOU REMAIN !!!

And yet all France does not riſe with one accord againſt theſe monſters of iniquity! And yet France calls itſelf free!! And the Legiſlative Body remains unoppreſſed!!!

Never was an operation urged with ſo much ardour, as the paſſage of the Rhine by me. The triumvirs, who, as I have ſaid, never knew the extent of our reſources; who, like

Xerxes, would willingly have flogged the Rhine, the ſea, and all the elements that oppoſed the leaſt reſiſtence to their will; lolling at eaſe on their couches, declared that the Rhine *muſt* be paſſed — but how this was to be effected gave them very little concern. The Rhine is not to be forded, and bridges were neceſſary. Moreau aſked for a very trifling ſum of money, which was indiſpenſably neceſſary for their conſtruction. This money, which the Miniſter of Finances was continually ſaying ſhould immediately be ſent off, or was actually ſent, never arrived. At length, Moreau determined to come himſelf to Paris to wreſt it from the Treaſury. I prevailed with him to ſet off on his return immediately, and riſk a blow, even were he not prepared for it. Moreau, however, had no need of being preſſed on this point. Never had the Republic a more faithful or a more modeſt ſervant. He returned, and the paſſage of the Rhine was executed! He aſtoniſhed no one, except the enemy. In France, they were ſatiated with victory. I did not myſelf expect ſo rapid a ſucceſs. To avoid deceiv-

ing the Army of Italy, and prevent them from advancing too far, before ſuccours could arrive; in ſhort, to prevent them from placing themſelves *in a dangerous predicament* (read over your accuſation once more, Bailleul), it was requiſite that I ſhould tranſmit them an accurate account of what I learned from the Rhine, and, conſequently, inform them that all was not yet ready, nor would be for ſome time.

The paſſage of that river, however, was executed quicker than could have been expected, or even hoped; for they hazarded a great deal, merely to reſcue the Army of Italy from its *dangerous predicament*. But, aſſuredly, had the Army of Italy even been apprized by a telegraph, that the Rhine would be paſſed in two days, it would have been no leſs neceſſary to conclude the Treaty of Leoben. Joubert, notwithſtanding his more than human reſiſtance, notwithſtanding his gigantic combats, was nevertheleſs forced in the Tyrol; the enemy entered Trieſt; and the army was threatened on both its flanks, and harraſſed in its rear, by the

insurgents of the Venetian territories, who were *waiting, with poniards, a favourable moment for our extermination.*

At length, the Army of the Sambre and Meuse passed the Rhine, on the very day when the Treaty of Leoben was signed. Was this step also taken because they had received intelligence of the signature of the Treaty? Yet this army was the only one that was in a condition to push the enemy with vigour, since it was at the gates of Frankfort when the courier arrived, through Germany, to inform it of the Treaty of Leoben, and cause hostilities to cease.

When the Preliminaries of Leoben were received at Paris, I rejoiced at beholding the return of peace to bless my country; and Le Tourneur participated my rejoicings: but the triumvirs groaned with vexation. *Réveillière was as furious as a tiger, and Reubel sighed deeply;* while Barras, though he highly disapproved the Treaty, yet declared that it ought, nevertheless, to be accepted. On one of the following days,

unable to contain his rage, he ſuddenly aroſe, and, addreſſing himſelf to me like a madman, "*Yes* (ſaid he) *it is to you that we are indebted for the infamous Treaty of Leoben.*" To which I replied, that I exulted in having contributed to put an end to the horrors of war. And Reubel made a ſign to Barras, to intimate that it was impolitic to attribute to me all the honour of the pacification.

Finally, Bailleul ſays, as his laſt charge—

'*In another point of view, Carnot arreſted the progreſs of the conſideration which the Republic was acquiring abroad. Under pretext of a miſtaken economy, the real tendency of which was to degrade the Republic, he propoſed not to appoint any ambaſſadors; he would only have employed chargés d'affaires: the conſequence would have been, that the envoys of the Republic would have held the loweſt rank at every court — whereas, the ambaſſadors of France have the precedency of all others, except thoſe of the Germanic Confederation!*'

I have already obſerved that truth itſelf is transformed into a lie, when it paſſes through the impure organs of THESE THREE TYRANTS and their tools. This is an additional confirmation of my aſſertion.

It is true I thought it would be advantageous, for a conſiderable time, to abſtain from ſending miniſters and ambaſſadors to the various courts, *excepting thoſe where we could nearly dictate the law; as, for inſtance, in Piedmont, in Holland, and in Spain:* and this I propoſed to the Directory. But the motive of economy was but a very inferior conſideration. The true reaſon I aſſigned was, that the Republic having humiliated all the other powers by their victories, it was to be feared that, peace being once made, thoſe of the powers who were beyond our reach would ſhow their reſentment for this humiliation, if not by direct inſults, at leaſt by expreſſions of pointed indignities, towards our ambaſſadors, and by marked preferences of the envoys of the royal courts, highly offenſive to the Republic. That hence we ſhould be ex-

poſed either to take up arms to revenge theſe outrages, or ſhamefully to put up with the affront. It appears to me, that the events which have ſince taken place, the innumerable inſults to the national flag, and the violences committed on the very perſons of our envoys (although the great work of peace is not yet completed), are no ſmall juſtifications of this train of argument.

I am aware how diſpleaſing this muſt be to thoſe who are ſuing for embaſſies at the hands of the Directory; but the little ceremony they uſe towards every foreign miniſter, of whom they think they have any cauſe of complaint, expoſes them to repriſals, the dangerous effects of which I was deſirous of preventing.

Thus it appears, that ſo far from endeavouring to degrade the Republic, it was from a deſire that we ſhould not loſe our conſideration abroad, that I propoſed to continue ſome years without ſending ambaſſadors to the diſtant courts; and that the Directory, attributing my propoſal to

motives which they well knew were not my genuine reaſons — here again LIE with their accuſtomed perfidy.

But how are nations degraded? not, I imagine, by endeavouring to foreſee and prevent whatever might become a ſubject of humiliation, or deſtroy the pledge of their tranquillity; not, I imagine, by endeavouring to place it in that proſperous ſituation, in which the diſplay of their ſtrength, being proportioned to their reproductive reſources, inſures the ſtability of their government.

No: a nation is degraded by its repreſentatives, when they abuſe the office they fill, in order to deceive it by the moſt execrable impoſtures, and proſcribe the moſt faithful defenders of its intereſts.

They are degraded when they are miſled, and rendered unprincipled, hardened, and corrupted; when they are made to bluſh for their virtues, taught to trample all principle under their feet,

and when thoſe who act conformably to the conſtitution are branded with the epithet of *ſtupid*.

They are degraded, when they are robbed of all their rights, and an arbitrary and tyrannic ſyſtem is ſubſtituted for the ſocial compact they had accepted, and are told that this is liberty!

They are degraded, when the calumniators, the intolerant, and the ſhameleſs, obtain the title of true patriots; when he whom the public voice points out as the greateſt ſhuffler, the moſt depraved and the moſt deſpotic, is ſure to be the man who obtains the confidence of the government.

They are degraded, when the ſervants of the people, betraying the ſacred cauſe they had undertaken to defend, become the fabricators of their own ſlavery; when we behold them fawning in the antichambers of the diſtributors of places; when they are proud of humbling themſelves to the duſt, cover themſelves with

diſgrace, and acknowledge, as an invariable maxim, that whoever reſpects the national repreſentation is a royaliſt!

Thus it is, honeſt Bailleul, that a people are degraded, or, rather, that they would in time become ſo, were it poſſible that a nation of thirty millions of intrepid and generous citizens could be degraded by the depravity of their governors, and the baſeneſs of a few faithleſs ſervants. No! to that nation every thing that is grand and ſublime belongs, nor can any thing that is great be performed but by their reſiſtleſs maſs; while all the follies and littleneſſes they ſeem to commit are but the work of a few individuals whom alone they can diſhonour.

Thus have I detailed the act of accuſation drawn up by the Executive Directory. I have examined it charge by charge; I have proved that each of theſe charges was the act of accuſation of the Directory themſelves, nor can all their reſentment tear a ſingle trophy from the monument of infamy I have been erecting to their

memory. Let them, on their part, erect another to immortalize their victory of the 18th Fructidor. The true friends of liberty muſt be deſirous they ſhould; it is a triumph they are preparing for them: theſe monuments will, however, be one day deſtroyed, they will be carried away with a breath of air, like a Coloſſus with feet of crumbling clay, or like that ſtatue which cruſhed the chimera of federation in the *Place des Invalids*. The 2d of September and the 31ſt of May were alſo at one time immortal days. But what are they now? They are preciſely what the 18th Fructidor will one day become. Marat was carried in triumph to the Pantheon, and ſoon after his carcaſe was thrown into a common ſewer; and SUCH IS THE FINAL JUDGEMENT THAT AWAITS THE TRIUMVIRS.

In the meanwhile I will endeavour to throw a few rays of light on the character of thoſe hideous monſters. But to do this I muſt reſume the act of accuſation. The proofs muſt be had from the *honeſt Bailleul*, who will certify upon

his conſcience (which is not that of a *ſtupid fellow*) that they are in the hands of the miniſters; that is to ſay, in the mouth of their cannon. *Republican directors* muſt certainly be believed upon their words. Every one knows it is by implicit faith that men are to be ſaved, eſpecially the repreſentatives of the people, and that there is a place called Guyana for infidels.

After ſix months then of laborious reſearch, and after employing all the talents of their hired fabricators of documents, the *Republican Directory* have at length diſcovered—

1ſt, *That I denied that aſſaſſinations were committed:* — whereas all I have ſaid or written proves diametrically the oppoſite to be the truth —whereas the Directory have in their own hands the papers I myſelf furniſhed for the proſecution and conviction of aſſaſſins—whereas it is this very *Republican Directory*, who have ſheltered theſe aſſaſſins beneath their protecting wing, and have conſtantly refuſed to cauſe them to be puniſhed.

2d, *That I oppoſed the diſmiſſal of Willot:*—whereas the *Republican directors* formed a majority in the Directory, and conſequently retained Willot in place, notwithſtanding the conviction they declare themſelves to have felt, that Willot was a murderer and a cut-throat.

3d, *That I had every day ſecret and confidential interviews with Pichegru:*—whereas I never ſaw Pichegru but once by appointment, and then not in ſecret or confidentially, and once more by chance for two minutes in the preſence of ten witneſſes, and without ſpeaking to him—whereas I did all I could by indirect means to induce him to decide in favour of the patriots.

4th, *That I was the advocate of kings and of the emperor:*—whereas I voted for the death of Louis, made every other king tremble, and ſtormed the imperial throne—whereas it was the *Republican directors* who, having during five months reſiſted the concluſion of a treaty which was advantageous for the republic, at laſt concluded a treaty that renders the emperor more

powerful than ever, and ſuch as might have been expected had his troops been conſtantly victorious in Italy.

5th, *That I ſupported the political exiſtence of the Pope*:—whereas by making peace with Naples, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the *Republican directors*, I robbed the Pope of the only ſupport by which he could maintain his political exiſtence—whereas I propoſed to the *Republican directors*, who were averſe to the meaſure, to ſtrip the Pope of his temporal power, in order to transfer it to another power (Spain), that might have become a counterpoiſe to the Houſe of Auſtria, and annihilated his pretenſions to the titles of Emperor and King of the Romans; titles which will ere long be realiſed in that houſe, after having coſt France a great deal of blood: and all this ariſing from the meaſures of ſuperlative wiſdom and foreſight purſued in Italy by our *Republican directors*.

6th, *That I was deſirous to convert all our conqueſts into kingdoms, and particularly to re-*

rive the kingdom of the Lombards:—whereas, on the contrary, I propoſed to our *Republican directors*, who were averſe to the meaſures, to turn our conqueſts to advantage in order to aggrandize the French republic, to convert into a republic an extenſive country of the new world, which languiſhes under the dominion of a king—whereas our *Republican directors* have *royalized* a *republic* which was among our *conqueſts*, by delivering up Venice to the Emperor!

7th, *That I was deſirous of ſacrificing Holland*:—whereas it was our *Republican directors*, who, full of *fidelity* and honour, were reſolved to plunder that nation—whereas it was they who there ſyſtematically maintained anarchy and diſorder—whereas it was they, who boaſt of *acknowledging no law but the law of the ſtrongeſt*—whereas it is certain, and will be proved ſo by the event, that the plan of the *Republican directors*, who are ſo full of *fidelity* and honour, is to unite with England, with England that is a kingdom, with England, whoſe extermination

they have ſworn, in ſharing the plunder of the poſſeſſions belonging to the Batavian *republic!*

8th, *That I oppoſed the defending Kehl as long as it was poſſible to defend it*:—whereas the *Republican Directory* have in their hands the orders given by me, and a thouſand times repeated, to defend Kehl to the laſt extremity—whereas it would be to themſelves, who formed a majority of the Directory, that the crime was to be imputed, had Kehl not been defended as it ought to have been.

9th, *That I would not give orders for the laſt paſſage of the Rhine till we had received intelligence of the Treaty of Leoben*:—whereas the Rhine was paſſed on the very day of the ſignature of the Treaty of Leoben (which is 300 leagues from Paris) by the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, and two days after by that of the Rhine and Moſelle—whereas all Paris knew of the paſſage of the Rhine two days before they could receive any intelligence of the Treaty of Leoben — whereas our *Republican directors*

accuſe themſelves of the twofold crime, 1ſt, of having themſelves, who formed the majority, neglected to give orders for paſſing the Rhine at the time when, according to them, it was practicable and neceſſary; and, 2d, of having given orders for that manœuvre at a time when it could only tend to the maſſacre of the defenders of the country, to the violation of the laws of nations, and to revive the flames of war at the very moment when the war was brought to a concluſion.

10th, *That, to rob the Republic of its conſideration abroad, I propoſed the not ſending ambaſſadors to the various courts:*—whereas our *Republican directors* well know that, on the contrary, my motive was to prevent the Republic from loſing its conſideration abroad—whereas it is they who, by their puerile haughtineſs of conduct towards the envoys of foreign courts, expoſe thoſe of the Republic to humiliating retaliations, and the Republic itſelf to the perpetual danger either of ſuffering unreſented degradations, or of renewing the war, and that nume-

rous examples have proved the juſtice of my fears in this reſpect!

I aſk, therefore, do not the fabricators of ſuch an act of accuſation deſerve *that men ſhould ſpit in their faces, horſewhip them in all the ſtreets and ſquares of Paris, affix labels on their backs and on their breaſts, with the words* IMPOSTORS, MISCREANTS, ASSASSINS, and ſend them to the Pantheon of Marat, to enjoy the immortality they have merited?—And *is not the impunity of theſe* MONSTERS *an irrefragable proof that* FRANCE IS UNDER THE YOKE OF THE MOST ABJECT SLAVERY?

The ſyſtem purſued by the Directory is by no means ambiguous to any one who has attentively obſerved their proceedings: their ſyſtem is evidently to found the power of the nation leſs on the aggrandiſement of the Republic, than on the weakneſs and deſtruction of its neighbours; to fight them one againſt another, to treat them as friends ſo long as they may have occaſion to paralyſe them by exhauſting all the

ſuccours they can yield, and when the time is come for cruſhing them, inſtantly to employ their fertile genius in inventing ſufficient pretexts to practice the fable of the Wolf and the Lamb.

Let us but attend to their conduct towards the little Cantons of Switzerland. Here it was not the oligarchy of Berne they had to contend with; it was not thoſe againſt whom ſo many grievances were alleged; it was not thoſe Cantons that had a treaſure of thirty millions, and a magnificent arſenal;—No, it was the true children of William Tell, real democrats, poor men almoſt deſtitute of any traffic, even with their neighbour! No matter, they muſt be revolutionized. Conſequently, that liberty which has rendered them happy during a period of 500 years, that liberty which has ſo long been the envy of France, is now proved not to be the liberty their welfare requires; no, they muſt chuſe between the conſtitution that is preſented to them and death. They refuſed this conſtitution, which they found leſs demo-

cratical than their own, and therefore they were maſſacred; for it is clear that nothing but fanaticiſm and intrigues could diſſuade them from accepting this pledge of their new-fangled felicity. To kill them is indeed the ſureſt means of preventing them from believing prieſts and intriguers! This handful, however, of ſimple men, who have during 300 years been utter ſtrangers to fighting, dare to reſiſt their invaders; their republican blood is mingled with that of the republicans of France, not jointly to defend the ſacred rights of nations, but gratuitouſly to maſſacre each other.

O impious war! in which the Directory ſeem to have had no other object than to know how many victims they could ſacrifice to their caprice, from among the free, the poor, and the moſt virtuous part of mankind; to aſſaſſinate Liberty in her native ſoil, and to puniſh the mountains of Helvetia for having given her birth. Worthy rivals of Griſler; the triumvirs were determined to exterminate the race of William Tell: and by them was the death of

the tyrant to be revenged. The heads of the democratic families were offered up to his manes; they died defending the frontiers of their little territory, and reſiſting the violation of their own homes. Their affrighted flocks fled to the deſarts; the Glaciers reſounded with the cries of orphans periſhing with hunger; and the ſources of the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Adda, bore the tears of diſconſolate and deſpairing widows to the moſt diſtant ſeas!

Happily for me, I cannot be accuſed of having been a party to theſe diſgraceful tranſactions. Had I been a member of the Directory at that time, againſt me would the accuſation have been one day brought forward. May the political conſequences of theſe tranſactions never prove fatal to France!

Formerly, even in time of war with foreign powers, the frontiers of Switzerland, from Huninguen to Geneva, were diſarmed, becauſe the fidelity and the neutrality of the Cantons were deemed perfectly ſecure; but now that

frontier will always require FORTY THOUSAND men, partly to occupy Switzerland itſelf, and partly to preſerve the neighbouring departments, which are deſtitute of military poſts!

It was by their induſtry, and their virtue, that the democratic Cantons of Switzerland maintained their political exiſtence. *It is impoſſible theſe poor countries ſhould long be able to ſupport a foreign army, and the expences of an adminiſtration leſs popular and more coſtly than their former government.* I have already obſerved that there can be no ſtability in a ſtate, whatever be the nature of its conſtitution, unleſs there exiſts an equilibrium between the exertion of its reſources and its reproductive powers. This equilibrium is evidently deſtroyed in Switzerland; it is alſo equally deſtroyed in the Ciſalpine Republic, in that of Genoa, and in Rome. Each of theſe countries conſume more than they annually receive from nature. Thus as ſoon as the funds, on which thoſe governments ſubſiſt, are exhauſted, new troubles and diſorders will immediately ariſe. What will then be the iſſue, I

know not; but I hope it will not be *a new war of* EXTERMINATION FOR THE FRENCH REPUBLIC!

France herſelf, if this equilibrium is not reſtored between her receipts and her expenditures, *will infallibly experience new ſhocks.* But in France it is not nature that refuſes the means of ſubſiſtence;—on the contrary, ſhe laviſhes them in abundance, and a deficiency could only ariſe from the defects of the adminiſtration.—*Had France, inſtead of the revolution of the* 18*th Fructidor, concluded a general peace,* her proſperity would at this day have ſurpaſſed that of the happieſt nations recorded in hiſtory; *but at this moment ſhe is on the verge of inevitable ruin, unleſs her eyes are ſpeedily opened to the ſituation of her finances — unleſs the foundation of a wiſe ſyſtem of political economy is ſpeedily laid.*

The ſame line of conduct is adopted by the Directory within as they have purſued without. They conſider themſelves in the ſame point of

view, with regard to the citizens of France, as they conſider the Republic with regard to other powers; they conſider them but as ſo many enemies, on the weakening and diviſion of whom their authority can alone be founded. Inſtead of labouring, from the moment of their creation, to unite the hearts of the people, and rally them around the Conſtitution; inſtead of pouring balm into the wounds occaſioned by a long and bloody revolution; they irritate their paſſions afreſh, and make odious nicknames the order of the day. They ſend the torch of diſcord into the boſom of the Legiſlative Body; the moſt violent expreſſions are laviſhed in the meſſages of the Directory, in harangues that are totally foreign to domeſtic affairs, and even in the moſt familiar diſcourſes. Their armies are ſeduced, and their minds inflamed; they are become a deliberative body. The bitterneſs of gall is ſpread abroad by means of the newſpapers, and they employ under them the vileſt of creatures—men to whom no one would confide the moſt trifling of his perſonal concerns. Thus was the

immortal day concluded, a funeral veil extended over the rights of man, and the Conſtitution ſtabbed to its vitals!

The reſolution to mutilate the national repreſentation was formed from the time of the election to the year V. It was Reubel who conceived the plan; and the reſt acquieſced in it, when the particulars were explained, and the ſucceſs repreſented as infallible.

This plan being once adopted and decided on, they began elaborately to ſearch for pretexts to juſtify the tranſaction they were '*meditating in their wiſdom;*' and theſe pretexts the leading members in the Council of Five Hundred but too amply furniſhed them with. The favours granted to the enemies of the revolution; the refuſal of juſtice to the patriots, however pure their characters; the degradation of every thing that related to the executive power; the ſhackles every where prevailing; the unjuſt reproaches and abſurd interpretations of all the proceedings

of the Directory; lying reports on the finances; inſults, menaces; refuſal of every means of acting with advantage;—theſe are the crimes with which the leading members of the Council have to reproach themſelves!

But how many of theſe leaders were there? They did not amount to fifteen. *All that was neceſſary was to exclude them from the committees, and this was the line of conduct that would have been purſued by every wiſe and enlightened man.* They even began to put this plan in execution, and the Directory trembled leſt any arrangement ſhould be adopted whereby the minds of the people would have been calmed; for then, perhaps, they would have been at a loſs for pretexts to juſtify, or means to execute, their grand deſigns.

The perpetrators of crimes, however, were triumphant; and, as in all other conſpiracies, every one of the conſpirators inſerted his perſonal enemies in the liſts of proſcriptions, without oppoſition from his accomplices. Thus Octa-

vius, Anthony, and Lepidus, reciprocally gave up to each other's revenge thoſe who were their deareſt and moſt faithful friends!

Had not terror petrified the repreſentatives of the people; had not a military force ſurrounded them; or, rather, had not the parts in the farce been previouſly diſtributed to the actors; they would have refuſed to deliberate till the liberty of the Legiſlative Body was reſtored. But, even ſuppoſing fear could force thoſe to deliberate who refuſed, it would have been enough had they obſerved that the aſſembly ought to confine themſelves to the arreſt of the accuſed members; ſince, as far as regarded the public ſafety, this accuſation would produce the ſame effect as their condemnation; a procedure which in no wiſe belonged to the Legiſlative Body, and of which the reporter himſelf declared he could not aſſign the grounds. But who could have prevented this propoſition from being adopted, had they been poſſeſſed of proofs, had they not been reduced to declare, like Bailleul, that "*we da*

not attempt to prove the exiſtence of light, and that they would imagine they had but feebly apprehended the intentions of the Legiſlative Body, if they came forwards with proofs or furniſhed juſtifications!'

On this occaſion, they ſpoke of the *conſtitutional jury* of Sieyès as of a means that might have prevented the events of the 18th Fructidor, but this idea was deſtitute of the leaſt foundation; the conſtitutional jury would themſelves have been exiled as well as the repreſentatives of the people and the members of the Directory. I know of no ſocial compact that can reſiſt the attacks of cannon; no work ſufficiently ſolid to continue unimpaired, when thoſe who are appointed its guardians are ſacrilegious enough to deſtroy it themſelves!

But if at ſome future period when the people of France ſhall have burſt their fetters, and the repreſentatives ſhaken off the lamentable oppreſſion under which they groan, theſe faviours of their country and their accomplices ſhould be

dragged to trial for the immortal day, could they with any juſtice complain when they are told, " You are brought before this tribunal for having ' *meditated in your wiſdom*,' and, in your love for the conſtitution, effected the diſſolution of the Legiſlative Body, and for acts of tyranny worthy of Louis XI. of Chriſtiern, and of Cromwell. You ſhall be dealt with in the very ſame manner, and with the very ſame weight you have uſed towards others. Thus are you firſt of all condemned, and now you are allowed to enter on your defence. But this you muſt conſider is a particular favour, for you have refuſed it to others, even after their proſcription."—— " What proofs," could they ſay, " are brought againſt us?"—' *We do not attempt to prove the exiſtence of light*,' would be the anſwer.—— " But why deny the people, who are anxious to be informed, the demonſtration of our crimes?" ' *We are not come to adduce proofs or furniſh juſtifications.*'—" But we demand the obſervance of the conſtitutional laws."—' *Let us baniſh thoſe abſurd theories of pretended principles, thoſe ſtupid invocations of the conſtitution.*'—" Are we

then to be put to death?"—'No, we are full of humanity, and you will not be put to death, becauſe we have but a very few of you in our power, and we will not dip our hands in blood for ſo trifling an object; and beſides, we know not what effect it would have upon the people. It is merely an experiment we are making. We want no blood, at preſent a copious flow of tears will ſatisfy us. We know this is a grand means of ſucceeding in our experiment. You ſhall only be exiled, and your families ruined; for it is perfectly juſt, that children at the breaſt ſhould be puniſhed for the crimes of their fathers.—If your co-operators in the counter-revolution, whom we have not in our power, will have the goodneſs to go to Rochefort to be embarked for tranſportation, the property of their relations ſhall be reſtored, until the neceſſities of the ſtate ſhall oblige us to pronounce their final confiſcation. We had at firſt intended to ſend you to Madagaſcar; but, as it is ſaid the inhabitants of that iſland no longer devour men, we have determined to ſend you to Guyana, where you will be furniſhed with implements of huſbandry,

and will be very happy. Thus you ſee how mild and merciful we are. But the manners that prevail in this Republic are too effeminate. We will act better, when we ſhall have wound up the public opinion to its proper pitch, which we hope to accompliſh by influencing the next elections, as ought to be the practice in every free country. You will farther obſerve, that in your act of accuſation, where the principal charges are intirely the offspring of our own invention, you are not all expreſſly named. This formality did not appear neceſſary to the *Republican dictators*, becauſe it is not your names but your perſons that are condemned. It is true we would guillotine the loweſt officer of police who ſhould make ſuch a rhapſody; this degree of perfection belongs excluſively to the ſupreme authorities. It has been invented expreſſly for this new ſeſſion of the revolutionary tribunal, which has indulgently brought you to their bar. Thank us, then, for this elegant diſcourſe, the appoſiteneſs of which is as ſtriking as that of your grand maſter Réveillière's to the Ciſalpine

ambaſſador, when he received him, and then — Depart, go about your buſineſs.'

Perhaps ſome of the repreſentatives were really guilty; perhaps ſome among them were really royaliſts. Why not ſuſpend them, and bring them to trial according to the forms of the conſtitution? It would have been a great and a ſtriking example. " But, in the midſt of a vaſt plot and conſpiracy on the point of execution, we cannot adhere to legal forms, without incurring the greateſt danger." This was the very reaſon why the Directory have given to the ſecret and impotent manœuvres of a few individuals the ſhow of a conſpiracy, the thread of which extended to the moſt diſtant corners of the Republic. It was the next morning they were to be maſſacred. The very next day the Republic was no longer to exiſt. It was the Genius of Liberty alone that had inſpired the reſolution to fly to arms, for the indiſpenſable calls of ſelf-defence. The outpoſts of the Directorial palace had already been forced, although

the Directory had long been meditating '*in their wiſdom*,' that immortal day for which their orders were already drawn up and their proclamations printed.

They were determined then to rid themſelves of two hundred members of the two councils; but how could this be accompliſhed without ſeparating them, by ſome previous operation, from the Legiſlative Body? The ſuppoſition of a vaſt plot and conſpiracy was, therefore, indiſpenſably neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the ſcheme the Directory were meditating '*in their wiſdom*;' and who can blame them for having done what was indiſpenſably neceſſary?

It was equally indiſpenſable, that after the execution of this ſcheme they ſhould juſtify it in the eyes of the public; and that the truth, and the facts, being againſt them, they ſhould call in the aid of lies. How can they be accuſed on this account? When lies are neceſſary, are they not alſo excuſable? Would it not be *ſtupidity* itſelf, to be ſcrupulous on ſuch an occaſion?

In ſhort, a crime was become neceſſary to ſave the commonwealth. Than this, nothing can be more evident. '*We do not attempt to prove the exiſtence of light.*' A ſecond crime was neceſſary to juſtify the former, a third to juſtify the ſecond, a ſeries, an accumulation of every crime was become indiſpenſable to conceal theſe horrors. Thus, are theſe horrors in fact no horrors, and theſe crimes no crimes: they are the virtues of the Directory who, amidſt all their crimes, cannot be charged with the guilt of *ſtupidity*.

I venerate, as their merits deſerve, men who are diſtinguiſhed for their *virtues!* But, I would thank any one who would have the goodneſs to inform me, how three villains would have acted in their place had they wiſhed to become maſters of the Republic, and execute their proſcription-liſts? I would aſk, in what reſpect would the conduct of theſe miſcreants have differed from that of the *virtuous* directors? I would inquire, whether they would not have made preciſely the ſame uſe of the words republic, royaliſm, liberty, and fidelity; whether

they would not have aſſociated the ſame co-operators in their noble labours; whether they would not have juſtified their actions by ſtill more atrocious calumnies; and proved the criminality of their victims by ſaying, that '*we do not attempt to prove the exiſtence of light?*'

The celebrated Mandrin alſo boaſted of his humanity: when he had brought about an 18th Fructidor in the receſſes of ſome remote foreſt; when he had robbed the paſſengers on the highway, he did not always kill them, and, above all, he did not calumniate them after he had plundered them of their property! He alſo adopted the ſublime principles of the *honeſt Bailleul.* He would in caſe of need, with the aſſiſtance of a ſpecial committee, compoſed of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his gang, have adduced *luminous* proofs that the paſſengers had only come there with an intention of murdering him, and that they had already forced his outpoſts. Retiring with his protecting comrades to ſhare the ſpoil of their *immortal day*, he was willing the diviſion ſhould be made with a truly trium-

viral fidelity; and had he lived in theſe days, it may be doubted, whether the *Republican Directors* would not have preferred him to Augereau, for the execution of the ſcheme they had '*meditated in their wiſdom.*' But then, virtuous and Republican Directors well know, that the great Mandrin at length received the juſt reward of his crimes.

'Very well' (ſome one will reply), 'you have demonſtrated that the tranſactions of the 18th and 19th Fructidor were great political crimes; but tell us what ought to have been done in the critical circumſtances in which we were placed? Tell us what we ought to do, when it clearly appears that a part of the Legiſlative Body are about to effect a counter-revolution, and that this part of that legiſlature is poſſeſſed of ſo much influence that they will carry every reſolution they ſupport, and negative every ſalutary meaſure?'

I reply, 1ſt, That they might have avoided this criſis, by more deference and tenderneſs

towards the Legiſlative Body, by ſending them meſſages leſs harſh and imperious, by recalling ſome of the commiſſaries of the executive power, of whoſe ill-conduct theſe repreſentatives adduced innumerable proofs ; in ſhort, by ſhowing a more ſincere deſire of making peace with the foreign powers, for that was the principal cauſe of the want of confidence in them. They feared that, by giving the Directory too much latitude, eſpecially in financial reſources, they would avail themſelves of theſe merely to prolong the war, rather than to bring it to a ſpeedy termination. It is certain that this line of conduct would have reconciled the greater number of the irritated repreſentatives, and that the reſt would have ſoon bluſhed at the ſhameful part they had been induced to act.

I anſwer, 2dly, that having by their haughtineſs and impudence loſt the opportunity of adopting this firſt mode, which however was the beſt, the miſunderſtanding being at length ſo great that every one was conſcious of the danger he ſhould individually incur, they ought

ſpeedily to have applied themſelves to conciliatory meaſures. The Legiſlative Body had already felt the neceſſity of adopting theſe meaſures, and had renewed their committees and their officers, and removed thoſe who had abuſed the confidence repoſed in them: the repreſentatives, who were the beſt known for their good character and their talents, had ventured to oppoſe all their incidental motions which threw the Council of Five Hundred into diſorder, that it might excluſively attend to queſtions of higher importance, and chiefly to the reſtoration of the finances. Here indeed it is, that the greateſt reproach muſt fall on the Executive Directory, as the ſmalleſt motion on their part would have reunited the majority of the repreſentatives to them: but ſo far from taking this line of conciliatory conduct, or even endeavouring to diſcover what would produce that effect, the Directory dreaded leſt a reconciliation ſhould take place. They laboured with incredible activity daily to augment the cauſes of diſcontent and of alarm, and were fearful their deep-laid plots and preparations ſhould prove fruitleſs. In

ſhort, they were determined on the execution of the grand ſcheme they had ſo long been '*meditating in their wiſdom.*'

I reply, 3dly, that the evil having once become irremediable, a 20th of June was more wanted than a 31ſt of May. The patriotic repreſentatives then ought to have preſented an addreſs to the people of France, wherein they ſhould have demonſtrated with energy the continual violations of the conſtitution, and proved that a part of the councils were determined to ſubvert it. They ought at the ſame time to have demanded of the Directory, who, like them, had ſworn to ſupport the conſtitution, to afford them an aſylum againſt the tyranny of theſe declared enemies of the Republic, to protect them by force, and to provide for their perſonal ſecurity in their character of repreſentatives of the people. This proceeding would have been inconteſtably adopted by a majority of the councils, or at leaſt by all thoſe whom the Directory thought worthy of continuing in it after the 18th Fructidor. From that moment the Legiſlative Body

could not be diſſolved: the Directory could no longer have operated, or of their own authority removed thoſe who diſpleaſed them by the cannon and the bayonet, forced the reſt to deliberate by terror, and erected them into a revolutionary tribunal. But, on the contrary, the majority of the repreſentatives would have ſought for refuge againſt the violence of the minority, under the protection of an armed force, that their deliberations might be free. The public would have ſeen, on the one hand, this wiſe majority, with the victory on its ſide, both in intention and ſentiment; and on the other, a pitiful and naked minority, a minority to whom the agitation which reigned there from the beginning of the new ſeſſion, was already imputed. What could this minority have done? It would have been immediately abandoned by all parties, its members would have been ſhamefully diſperſed, and would never have re-appeared; every citizen would have applauded this conſtitutional meaſure, the public opinion would have rallied freely and without fear around the legiſlative body and the Directory, and if there were

among thoſe who had been diſmiſſed any who were charged with poſitive crimes, they would have been conſtitutionally tried by the high national court, where they would have been condemned with univerſal applauſe, becauſe the eyes of the public would then have been completely opened.

Such would have been their conduct had their object been the preſervation of their country, had not ambition, jealouſy, and revenge been the ſecret ſprings of all their actions. It would then have been unneceſſary to have procured addreſſes from the Army of Italy, it would then have been unneceſſary to have ſurrounded Paris with the Army of the Sambre and Meuſe, it would have been unneceſſary to have taken the command of the 17th military Diviſion from the brave Hatry to place it in the hands of a miſcreant. Thoſe whoſe views are honeſt have occaſion only to employ honeſt means. To preſerve a good conſtitution, we need only ſearch among its own reſources for the means of its preſervation; and to pretend that it cannot be

ſaved from its enemies except by plunging into the paths of tyranny, and into the defiles of iniquity, is to pronounce its condemnation: but this conſtitutional proceeding did not accord with the views of the Executive Directory, becauſe that was not the road to the eſtabliſhment of their Dictatorſhip; becauſe they could not then have deſtroyed all thoſe who were included in their proſcription-liſts; becauſe many of thoſe pretended counter-revolutioniſts, being obliged to decide, aye or no, would then have ſuddenly opened their eyes, and perceived the abyſs to which their blind hatred towards their governors was dragging them; they would have abjured their little paſſions, and at length emphatically declared themſelves on the ſide of the patriots. Perhaps a ray of light might have darted on them, and the torch of diſcord being extinguiſhed, France would have beheld a grand ſyſtem of reconciliation, inſtead of univerſal mourning, and the moſt brilliant triumph of the conſtitution inſtead of its utter annihilation.

But it might be ſaid, " If it was in fact the will of the majority of the repreſentatives that the counter-revolution ſhould take place; thoſe who, adopting what you have ſtated, ſeparated themſelves from the councils, and, were left in a minority, would have been conſidered by the public as a faction."

To this, I reply firſt, that even were this poſſible it was not ſo on the 18th Fructidor, ſince the expurgation made by the Directory only produced the excluſion of about two hundred members; a very great majority therefore, even according to themſelves, were for the ſupport of the conſtitution, which, therefore, might have been ſaved by its own reſources.

But to anſwer every objection, let us ſuppoſe for a moment, that it was the will of the majority of the legiſlative body that the counter-revolution ſhould take place: then, I ſay, not only that inſurrection is juſtifiable, but that it becomes a duty;— and, can it be thence inferred that I would adviſe, that an act of the Legiſlative Body ſhould be paſſed

which would proclaim a king, or the conſtitution of 1793, or the outlawry of the members of the Directory? certainly not. But every inſurrection impoſes on thoſe by whom it is eſpouſed (eſpecially when its partizans are any of the conſtituted authorities) two duties, the omiſſion of which becomes either tyranny or high treaſon. The firſt is to demonſtrate to the people, that the inſurrection was indiſpenſable to the preſervation of the conſtitution, the annihilation of which could by no other means have been prevented. The ſecond is to demonſtrate, that every one whom the revolutionary movement deſtroys was truly and individually guilty. Neither of theſe duties were diſcharged by the Directory; and the law of the 19th Fructidor is no other than an outlawry (without any juſtifiable ground) of a part of the national repreſentation, and of the firſt magiſtrates of the Republic.

In the firſt place, the Directory might have ſaved the conſtitution by its own reſources, as I have already proved; but, as I have alſo demonſtrated, they were far, very far, from em-

ploying or endeavouring to diſcover the means it offered to prevent the blow aimed at its exiſtence.

Secondly, They have not proved that each of the members included in the proſcription was guilty; they have not ſtated any crime againſt the greater number, nor were their names even pronounced previous to their ſentence of condemnation; which, as I juſt ſtated, was no other than an outlawry. After ſix months elaborate exertion, the chairman of the committee comes forward and declares to the council, that he has "no proofs to give, that the documents are in the hands of the miniſters, and that we do not attempt to prove the exiſtence of light."

But ſuppoſing it were even as clear as the light, that it was their intention to produce a counter-revolution, yet it is not as clear as the light that ſuch and ſuch individual members were among the conſpirators; and this want of evidence is proved by the legiſlative body having eraſed ſeveral of its members from the liſt: hence, it ap-

pears, they were fully convinced that the Directory themſelves were guilty of falſehood, or, at leaſt, that they were in an error. And who can prove that the council would not have eraſed a ſtill greater number had every member dared to ſpeak, had they not been ſurrounded by a military force, or had they voted on each individual name by ballot?

Either proofs exiſted againſt each of the accuſed, or they did not; I do not mean legal but moral evidence, ſuch as would convince every intelligent and honeſt man; if there did not, the Directory were guilty of an outrage againſt the national repreſentation; if there did, they are now guilty of high treaſon for ſuppreſſing it. For, not only have they brutally violated the conſtitution, contaminated it by the poiſon of their touch, and deſtroyed the ſacred forms which gave it, in the eyes of the people, a celeſtial dignity, but, by the horrid example of condemning men in a maſs, without aſſigning the grounds of accuſation, they have furniſhed weapons to all thoſe who, in the critical circumſtances which

they may have themſelves produced, are deſirous to take advantage of thoſe very circumſtances to proſcribe their perſonal enemies. The immortal day of the 18th Fructidor is the archtype of all the days of calamity and horror which will ſucceed it; it will furniſh a juſtification to every miſcreant who, in future ages, ſhall tear the vitals of his country; yes, it will be an immortal day in the annals of crimes!

Thus are the Directory guilty of high treaſon, even ſhould they be poſſeſſed of real proofs againſt each individual they have proſcribed. If not, a worſe alternative remains, and ſtill more ſuperlatively criminal is their conduct, ſhould thoſe which in fact exiſt, exculpate the accuſed and prove *them* guilty; or, ſhould even *their* own aſſertions, as I have ſhown, demonſtrate that they are continually contradicting themſelves, and that, even were theſe aſſertions true, it would be the Directory themſelves that would be chargeable with all the crimes which they impute to others. And can any rational being believe that, had they been poſſeſſed of

proofs, they would have omitted to produce them? They have produced all they did poſſeſs: nor have they ſpoken of papers in the hands of the miniſters but in order to imply that they had farther evidence to adduce; when, on the contrary, by their artifice in drawing inferences from the facts they ſtate, and by ſuppreſſing thoſe which perhaps might have explained or extenuated the imputed criminality, they ſhow that they have omitted no ſpecies of deluſion that could favour their cauſe. But I have watched their duplicity, their inſidious precaution, and their Machiavelian art too long, not to aſſert with confidence that the Directory have no other proofs than thoſe they have publiſhed; and that '*all that is reſerved*,' or '*depoſited in the hands of the miniſters*,' could only ſerve to weaken or belie the facts they have aſſerted.

What, then, remains to be done? I do not heſitate to declare (nor is it for myſelf I ſpeak; the freedom of my language relative to the triumvirs is a ſufficient proof that I have no de-

ſire either to enjoy their indulgence or again to expoſe myſelf to their fury)—I do not heſitate to declare then, that the *perſons proſcribed ought to be recalled.* If their return is not effected by the operation of a law reſulting from an emotion of generoſity, it may one day be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences.

It is impoſſible but that the heart of many a worthy man, from whom this act of tyranny was extorted by ſhame and terror, ſhould be corroded with remorſe, and that they ſhould proteſt, as ſoon as it is in their power, againſt the outrage in which they had been forced to participate. It is impoſſible but that the nation, who are always juſt in the end, ſhould not at laſt puniſh the real authors. I do not ſay, and I am very far from thinking, that the proſcribed members ought to reſume their ſeats in the Legiſlative Body. This would give birth to new calamities. No! I ſay that each of them ought to be reſtored to their domeſtic circles, as citizens under the protection of the law. The public opinion has already pronounced judge-

ment on each of them in particular: it has diſtinguiſhed the true criminals, if any there really are, from thoſe (at leaſt nineteen-twentieths of the number) whoſe minds are pure, and devoted to the Republic. The real criminals will live deprived of power, and happy in the oblivion of their baſeneſs. Thoſe whoſe conduct is irreproachable will not expoſe themſelves to cenſure by aſſerting rights which ſtill exiſt, becauſe they have only been ſuſpended by tyranny, but which, if theſe repreſentatives were reſtored, would be eventually proſcribed; becauſe that reſtoration might give birth to new troubles. When the rights of the whole nation were covered with a funereal veil, could their repreſentatives complain of the outrage exerciſed againſt theirs? I am aware of thoſe declamatory maxims by which it is aſſerted that we ſhould relax from none of our rights. Arguments are never wanting to juſtify the deſires of ambition or the gratification of revenge. But I am alſo aware that ſtill better reaſons may be adduced for the ſacrifice of ſuch paſſions, eſpecially when that ſacrifice is indiſpenſably neceſſary to the tran-

quillity of our country. The moſt glorious triumphs are thoſe over our own ſelf-love, becauſe they ſatisfy it in a manner more affecting and durable.

So long as the Legiſlative Body ſhall defer this meaſure, they will prove, either that they are ſtill under actual oppreſſion, or, that the new members, who have ſucceeded thoſe excluded on the 19th Fructidor, are afraid their predeceſſors ſhould claim their ſeats; — a littleneſs which cannot be attributed to the repreſentatives of a great nation.

The Conſtitution was violated; nor can any one venture to deny it: no one can attempt to prove that a crime which is committed is not committed. But we muſt not perſiſt in rendering that crime perpetual; it muſt not be converted into an inheritance, paſſing from one ſeſſion to that which ſucceeds it, from one legiſlative generation to another.

In fact, there were two hundred members in the Councils who were enemies of the directors, but not of the Republic. The tyrants affected to confound the individual hatred of which they were themſelves the ſole object, with a hatred for liberty itſelf. Such, too, was the language of Robeſpierre. His private enemies were always thoſe of the people, and the National Convention was but an aſſembly of conſpirators. But, on the contrary, to hate tyrants is in fact the ſtrongeſt proof of the love of liberty. Many of the repreſentatives, no doubt, committed an error in not ſacrificing their private animoſities; they did not perceive the danger to which their imprudence not only expoſed the common weal, but in which alſo they were themſelves involved.

I exerted myſelf to reclaim thoſe with whom I was acquainted; yet none of them were the leading members: none of them appeared to me to have formed a ſyſtem for the deſtruction of liberty. No: they were enlightened, coura-

geous, republicans; but, unfortunately, in a ſtate of exaſperation. Others, it is true, attempted to viſit me, and my door was open indiſcriminately to all the repreſentatives of the people; but there were ſome who were deterred by the coldneſs of their reception. Two of the latter, addreſſed me in an ambiguous manner, and a third ſpoke expreſſly of outlawing the triumvirs. He aſked me the effect it would produce; the effect, ſaid I, would be to reduce us to mere citizens, and impoſe on us the duties of inſurrection againſt you: from the moment that you pronounce an outlawry againſt a ſingle individual, you have annihilated the Conſtitution, you are no longer repreſentatives of the people, you are tyrants, you are yourſelves outlaws — a new revolution, a civil war, and your certain death, are the effects it will produce. This deputy, as may eaſily be imagined, did not repeat his viſit.

During this period, the generous Directors were '*meditating in their wiſdom*' how they ſhould cut my throat. They prepared for this act, which

was ſo full of equity, of fidelity, and of honour, by the calumnies with which they filled the journals; — they endeavoured to juſtify it by the moſt palpable lies, and the moſt glaringly abſurd, and blackeſt accuſations, that could have been invented by the mind of man.

In the mean while, the criſis was approaching. I might have ſecured ſome chances in my favour, by throwing myſelf either into the one or the other of the prevailing factions; but I preferred expoſing myſelf to almoſt certain deſtruction, by their concuſſion, and I ſhall never repent of the line of conduct I purſued.

When the triumvirs ſurrounded Paris, with a column of the Army of the Sambre and Meuſe, Hoche came to viſit me. I had with great difficulty ſaved his life in the time of Robeſpierre. I had reſtored him to liberty immediately after the 27th of July. And I had cauſed the three Weſtern Armies to be united in one, that he might have the command of the whole, becauſe I knew no man, except him, who could

terminate the war of La Vendée, and of the *Chouans*. All this he knew, and ſeemed to reproach himſelf with his injuſtice towards me, and his weakneſs, in ſuffering himſelf to be ſeduced into the party he had eſpouſed. He then gave me to underſtand that he was retained in that party, in ſpite of his better judgement, by the influence of women: and it is certain that the women played a moſt active part in the Fructidorian Revolution.

I reproached him with this movement of the army, which had in no wiſe been approved of by the Directory; but he replied "that he could not undertake the expedition againſt Ireland without troops." You well know (ſaid I), General, that there are 43,000 men upon the coaſts; and of what uſe are theſe numerous troops of cavalry that you are bringing with you? "They are ſome regiments (ſaid he) that I have formed myſelf, and which are extremely attached to me."

Hoche was a man of great abilities, and could not but be extremely dangerous, by taking any party whatever in political affairs.—I am of opinion that his old animoſity againſt Pichegru may have contributed to determine what line of conduct he would purſue. For the military talents of that officer he affected a great degree of contempt. Their rivalſhip had commenced at the raiſing of the ſiege of Landau, when Pichegru (though protected by St. Juſt and Le Bas, then repreſentatives of the people in the Army of the Rhine, and enjoying a great preponderancy) had, however, given up the chief command of the combined armies to Hoche (who was ſupported by Coſte and Baudot, repreſentatives of the people with the Army of the Moſelle).

At the commencement of the war, Hoche, who was then but little known, ſent a memorial to the Committee of Public Safety on the means of penetrating into Belgium. When I had read this memorial, I ſaid, in the way of

converſation, to the Committee, "Here is a ſerjeant of infantry who will get forward." My colleagues aſked me of whom I ſpoke. "Amuſe yourſelves," ſaid I, "with peruſing that memorial; for, although you are not officers, it will intereſt you." Robeſpierre took it up, and when he had read it ſaid, "This man is extremely dangerous;" and I am of opinion it was from that very moment he reſolved to deſtroy him.

A ſtriking trait of the villany of the triumvirs appeared, when, having ſurrounded Paris with troops from the Army of the Sambre and Meuſe, they declared that it was I who had given the orders for that manœuvre. They imagined this impoſture would have an air of probability, becauſe I was charged with the military correſpondence, and was alſo at that time Preſident of the Directory, and conſequently had the ſignature of the whole. Hoche myſteriouſly exhibited a paper ſigned by me, and inſinuated that it was an order for the marching of the troops. This order had, in fact, firſt been ſolicited under the pretext of the expedition againſt Ireland,

and the application had been afterwards renewed, and ſupported by Reubel in particular, under that of new troubles among the Chouans. But I oppoſed it, becauſe I knew that there were more troops than were neceſſary on the coaſt in the neighbourhood of Breſt.

In fact, it was their intention that Paris ſhould be ſurrounded with troops, and that it ſhould appear to be done by my orders. It was only when the triumvirs believed they could derive credit from their crimes that theſe myſteries began to be cleared up, by their own avowal, that they had long been meditating theſe grand events *in their wiſdom*, and that for this purpoſe they had carried on a correſpondence in the armies.

Although terror had at length ſo far taken poſſeſſion of the repreſentatives of the people, that many of them no longer dared to ſleep at their own homes, I did not ceaſe to indulge ſome hopes till the very laſt moment. I even fancied they had only ſent for Augereau merely

as a bugbear. I remembered what Reubel had told me at the time of the firſt journey of that General, when he had brought ſixty ſtandards that were taken from the enemy by the Army of Italy, " *He has much the appearance of a violent partizan.*" Said Reubel: " *What a ferocious miſcreant!*" To the firſt part of his remark I readily aſſented, for his external appearance was that of a Marius, and his oſtentation was hardly to be reconciled with republican ſimplicity or undeviating probity. But it may be preſumed that he rather acted as an ambaſſador with the Directory, than as one of the Generals of the Army of Italy.

The parade he employed on this occaſion would not have appeared blame-worthy, had he not, on the one hand, carried it to ridiculous lengths, and on the other, had not his ambitious views been too flagrantly apparent. The gold and the diamonds with which he was covered reſembled the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed, and the rings that loaded each of his fingers, reminded me of thoſe which Annibal took from the Roman knights.

I had an opportunity of ſeeing him in private at my own houſe, where he gave me a very high idea of his military talents. He told me it was he alone who directed the affairs of Italy; that Bonaparte might one day become a good General, but that he was deficient in experience, that he had ſeen him almoſt loſe his preſence of mind in ſituations of delicacy, that he had extricated him from many dilemmas; in ſhort, that it was himſelf who had *done every thing*.

Nor was it to me alone that Angereau ſpoke with this frankneſs reſpecting his own merit. He talked in the ſame ſtyle to all thoſe who would liſten to him, and the ſycophants who filled their journals with ſuch unbounded eulogiums on Bonaparte, ſo unworthy of that General's real merit, at the very ſame time panegyriſed, in the moſt fulſome manner, the man who was claiming, without reſerve, all the credit of his ſucceſſes.

In the month of Fructidor, Augereau was flattered with the expectations of a place in the

Directory, as the reward of his aſſiduity in cauſing thoſe to fall whoſe deſtruction was reſolved on. But in this, not only himſelf, but all the repreſentatives who were deſirous of procuring him that elevation, were the dupes of the Directory. The triumvirs feared him becauſe he would have been too powerful a colleague. He would ſoon have excluſively enjoyed the popular favour by his revolutionary exaggerations, and his diſorganiſing propoſitions.

In general, *the more ignorant men are, the more factious* they become. This maxim has been ſtrongly verified in all the national aſſemblies.

Of the triumvirs, Reubel is the only one who preſerves a regular plan, or poſſeſſes any real knowledge; but he conſiders liberty as chimerical, and impoſſible to be eſtabliſhed, and thinks no government can exiſt but the moſt abſolute deſpotiſm. This maxim is his great rule of conduct. Barras is by no means an aſſuming or conceited man: he knows he can acquire

eminence only by revolutionizing, and he is always ready to revolutionize, no matter in what manner, or with what ultimate effects. In other reſpects he is highly ariſtocratical, that is, an enemy of every thing that tends to bring men nearer to equality. Réviellère, tormented with a thirſt of fame, and directing all of his conduct to that object, is become a Theophilanthropiſt, as old women who have once been coquettes become devotees, leſt they ſhould be dead to the world; but, provided that this plan did not ſucceed, he preferred acting as a tyrant to preſerving the reputation of an honeſt man, with which he entered on his directorial office.

I do not, however, well know on what this character is founded; perhaps, on the inclination of mankind to be deceived, and to conſole themſelves for the prevailing of evil, by indulging an idea that ſome pure minds exiſt in the world; perhaps on that pity, which a being ſo unkindly treated by nature, in regard to his perſon, inſpires. But, aſſuredly, there exiſts not a greater hypocrite, nor a more immoral man, than Ré-

viellère: and Nature having formed him diſguſting to the ſight and ſmell, ſeems to have deſignedly cautioned thoſe who approach him againſt the falſehood and depravity of his heart.

I ſhall ever remember his anthropophagous grin, when, as Preſident of the Directory, he cloſed the ſitting of the 3d of September which he knew would be the laſt I ſhould attend. He thought that a few hours after, nothing of me would remain but a mangled and bloody carcaſs. What a hideous ſpectre he appeared! I fancied I beheld Charles IX. when the tocſin of St. Bartholomew was about to ſound, taking leave of thoſe who were preſently to be murdered by his own orders. A poignard ſeemed to leap from every angle of his diſtorted countenance; his head was inclined upon his ſhoulders; his eyes, grown almoſt opaque, looked aſkaunce; the fleſh on his cheek bones ſeemed agitated with a convulſive motion, and his half-opened lips protruded forwards, as it were, to meet the expected cup filled with the blood of his victim.

I do not believe it was without deſign, that the night between the 17th and 18th Fructidor was ſelected for the accompliſhment of this ſcheme, which the concertors had ſo long *meditated in their wiſdom*. The 17th and 18th Fructidor exactly correſpond with the 3d and 4th of September, the epoch of the famous maſſacres in 1793. Many of thoſe who ſignalized themſelves at the firſt Septemberization, were alſo the ſecret directors of the ſecond, and ſkilfully made their dates to coincide, the better to identify theſe two events. They were deſirous of having a great number of accomplices, that they might make uſe of the ſimilitude of the circumſtances to divide the power that was concentered in themſelves among a great number of individuals, and thus to prevent the public opinion, which continually harraſſes them, from purſuing them excluſively.

It is certain, that theſe new Septemberizers have identified their cauſe with the former, who have now pleaſed them by adducing the ſame reaſons in juſtification of their conduct, and ſhel-

tering themſelves under the ſame *ſalus populi*, and that it is impoſſible to defend them without exculpating the other. If the latter have not committed maſſacres, it is becauſe they neither dared, nor had it in their power. They were not ſufficiently confident of the ſucceſs of their enterprize, and knew they ſhould excite too much horror in the people, who had had ſufficient time to reflect and profit by the experience of the paſt. But they exerciſed their cruelty with ſuperior refinement, and have created an equal number of unfortunate individuals. The perſons proſcribed in this ſecond Septemberization are victims immolated to the manes of the Duke of Orleans. Hiſtory will claſs the infatuated Coryphæi of both under the ſame general term; it will be conſidered as one and the ſame tranſaction by thoſe who endeavour to trace every event to its true cauſe.

Many of the repreſentatives were not aware of the infamous part they were made to act—which was preciſely the ſame that the National Convention was obliged to perform, when Tallien, in the

name of the Commune, came to announce, that France was about to be delivered from her enemies, and the priſons to be cleared by a univerſal maſſacre. The firſt Septemberizers had a great ſource of enjoyment in ſeeing the number of their aſſociates and partizans increaſed by the acceſſion of thoſe very men whom, till then, they had, at leaſt in appearance, pretended to ſhun. They were deſirous, that, in honour of the immortal triumph of Fructidor, monuments ſhould be erected to them, and feſtivals celebrated on their account, which in their orgies and ſecret councils they would have referred at once, to the events of 1793, and thoſe of 1797. Probably this ſecret has eſcaped them, and this is the reaſon they have adjourned the execution of their intentions till a more *favourable opportunity*.

Bonaparte, deceived by falſe reports, irritated by the unjuſt calumnies continually uttered againſt him, at length departed from the line which his natural penetration had pointed out to him. Latterly I ſaw one of his aids-de-camp,

named La Valette, whom he had himſelf introduced to me in one of his letters. This officer came to Paris to inform Bonaparte of the ſituation of affairs; I had ſeveral interviews with him, in the courſe of which I communicated the whole ſyſtem I was purſuing. He told me, that Bonaparte had formed a very juſt idea on the ſubject, and aſſured me, that General viewed things exactly in the ſame light as myſelf; but that he complained of my not having written for ſome time to him. I replied, that my only motive was, that Bonaparte ſeemed no longer to have the ſame confidence in me, and that I conceived he had, at length, partly believed the lies propagated relative to me, by the newſpapers, eſpecially by thoſe which undertook to prove that I was his enemy. I added, that I would write to him with openneſs of heart, by the firſt courier that ſhould be diſpatched.

Sometime after this, and I believe ſix days previous to the 4th of September, La Valette came and ſaid to me, "You may be perfectly at eaſe with regard to the cloud you conceived

to have arifen in the mind of Bonaparte relative to yourfelf; I have a letter from him, faying, that he has written to you by the fame courier, that you may rely on his higheft eſteem, and his warmeſt affection; and that he conſiders political events preciſely in the ſame point of view as yourſelf." I expreſſed to Valette my great pleaſure at what he communicated, "but," ſaid I, "the letter has not been delivered." He appeared prodigiouſly aſtoniſhed, and I never entertained a moment's doubt but that the little hypocritical Réveillère, who was then Preſident, had intercepted it, and that it was kept back by this trio ſo full of *fidelity* and honour.

I was ſo convinced that it was impoſſible Bonaparte ſhould have contributed to my proſcription, that when, on his way to Raſtadt, he paſſed through a ſmall town where I happened to be for a ſhort time, I was on the point of writing to him to aſk for a momentary interview, and only waved my intention becauſe I was afraid of placing the General himſelf in a delicate ſituation; for it never occurred to my mind

to harbour the ſlighteſt doubt of his ſincerity and generoſity. But I ſuffered him to paſs, and illuminated my windows in common with all the other citizens, abandoning myſelf to my reflections, which were far from being of a melancholy nature, on the viciſſitudes of human life.

I rejoiced ſome days after at the conduct I had purſued, when I was informed, that in his paſſage through Geneva, Bonaparte had arreſted a banker named Bontems, merely becauſe he was ſuſpected of having brought me from Paris to that place, after the event of the 4th of September, in order to ſave me from the purſuit of the Directory, who had ſent out whole batallions of troops, accompanied with artillery, to diſcover me in the vicinity of Paris. This ſuſpicion had no foundation. In fact, I had never ſeen Bontems at Paris, nor was it to him that I was indebted for conveying me beyond the frontiers. That unfortunate man, however, remained ſome months in priſon. Such is the ſtory, as it was related to me by ſeveral perſons who came from Geneva, and who have heard

it from his own mouth, when, he added, Bonaparte flew into a violent paſſion, and uttered the ſevereſt menaces.

Bonaparte was deſirous of peace, but the Directory were averſe to it; and it would have been concluded five months ſooner, had they been willing to make it on the conditions which they ultimately accepted, merely becauſe they perceived, that the beſt argument that could be urged to the people, in favour of the 4th of September, was that of its having accelerated a peace. Hence, they pretended, when the treaty was at length concluded, that it was the other members of the Directory who had hitherto conſtantly refuſed their aſſent; and that, on the contrary, they had eagerly endeavoured to procure that bleſſing for their country the moment they were relieved from their ſhackles. It may be ſeen in their ſubſequent conduct, whether in this pretended deſire of peace they were really ſincere.

Of all the modifications of treaties they had in their power to adopt they have choſen the very worſt; and it appears I was miſtaking in ſaying, theſe *Republican Directors* were deſirous of oppreſſing the Emperor. Far, very far, was the Emperor from being oppreſſed. The Preliminaries of Leoben, which could immediately be converted into a definitive treaty, would have been far better without the ſmalleſt alterations in them. The ceſſion of Mantua was ſtipulated for that of Venice, and Venice is ſurely a place of more importance than Mantua. Bonaparte had written, that Mantua might be replaced, as far as regarded the ſecurity of the Ciſalpine Republic, by Pizzighitone, and that the latter had ſeveral advantages over the former. But the Directory determined to keep Mantua, although, by the Preliminaries of Leoben, it was ſtipulated, that it ſhould be given up; and this was the only object that prevented the peace from being concluded.

As I was deſirous, however, that peace ſhould be ſpeedily concluded; and as I perceived their

obſtinate determination to keep Mantua; I propoſed, one day, a mode, which at the worſt we might adopt,—to give up Venice in its ſtead! and, to that effect, I had even prepared a letter to Bonaparte; but they cried out, that it would be better to give up Mantua than Venice. Here they were right, and I had only propoſed to give up the latter becauſe I perceived they were obſtinately reſolved to keep the former; yet it was Venice they ultimately gave up. The letter I had written was thrown into the fire; but by a ſingular coincidence, Bonaparte had formed the ſame idea with myſelf, and the next day or the day after we received diſpatches from him propoſing to ſubſtitute Venice for Mantua in the Preliminaries of Leoben, adding, that with this condition peace would be ſpeedily concluded. They had rejected this propoſal when it came from me, and they equally rejected it from Bonaparte. In a word, their wiſh was to keep both Mantua and Venice, and, in caſe the Emperor would not acquieſce in this point, to reſume their arms immediately; ſuch were the conditions on which they con-

tinued diſputing five months, and at their expiration choſe the worſt of the two alternatives.

The hatred ſome of the members of the Directory bore me, eſpecially Barras, took its riſe from events long anterior to the period when it broke out. Barras belonged to a faction which I always held in abhorrence, the faction which attempted to place Orleans on the throne, which, having failed in that deſign, began to intrigue for themſelves, and at length divided into ſubordinate parties; the one under Danton, at the Cordeliers, the other under Robeſpierre, at the Jacobins, and the Commune of Paris: in a word, he belonged to that faction, which, though at firſt ſo oppoſite to the republican ſyſtem, afterwards carried thoſe principles to the utmoſt extreme of enthuſiaſm, when they perceived that they could by theſe means place themſelves at the head of the Republic.

I was equally the enemy of the Cordeliers, and of the Jacobins, and never could be induced to enter either of their dens. Though I had

an equal averſion to Danton and Robeſpierre, yet, as a member of the Committee of Public Safety, I was ſuppoſed to be a partizan of the latter, through its not being known perhaps that, in that committee I inceſſantly reproached him with his cruelties and his tyranny.

Barras was of the faction of Danton, as were the greater part of thoſe who have been called Thermidorians by way of diſtinction, but who on the 9th Thermidor (July 27th), independently of the danger that threatened them, and which it was urgently neceſſary to oppoſe, were much leſs intent on deſtroying one tyrant than on avenging another, and re-eſtabliſhing the tyranny of the former in their own hands. And who were theſe pretended avengers of humanity? They were, in general, the ſame men who had deluged Paris, Bordeaux, and Marſeilles, with blood!

The great crime of which, in their eyes, I was guilty, was that of having ſigned the arreſt of Danton; and yet it was a fact,

though very little known, that, at the Committee of Public Safety, I oppoſed that meaſure; not but that I conſidered this chief of the Septemberizers as deſerving the execration of mankind, but from the motives I ſtated to the members of the committee, to whom I ſaid: "You are no doubt powerful enough to have thoſe, whom you may think proper to mark out, put to death; but if you once open the road that leads the repreſentatives of the people to the ſcaffold we ſhall all ſucceſſively tread the ſame path." The ſignatures, as I explained to the Convention, did not prove any thing relative to the opinions of thoſe individuals who ſigned them, but merely that ſuch reſolutions had paſſed the committee, in the ſame manner as the ſignatures of the Preſident and Secretaries of the Legiſlative Body, or of the Directory, certify, that ſuch and ſuch laws or reſolutions have been paſſed, not that they received the aſſent or concurrence of thoſe individuals. They were by no means ſignatures of confidence, as they have been called, but ſignatures of forms preſcribed by law.

All the world knew this to be the fact, and thoſe who were my perſecutors had been a thouſand times themſelves examples of ſimilar ſignatures; but they collected all the acts ſigned by me, whether as member of the Committee, or as a repreſentative in the numerous miſſions to which I had been appointed, almoſt without interruption during eight months; but being unable in all theſe documents to find the ſlighteſt ground of accuſation, it became neceſſary to attribute to me the crimes of other men; and, in lieu of conſidering as acts of enthuſiaſm what I had done while defending the accuſed members of the committee, to put a ſtop to the carnage of the repreſentatives of the people, they accuſed me of it as of an additional crime. I was indebted for my preſervation to the courage of a few virtuous men who were beyond ſuſpicion, and who at length, venturing boldly to undertake my defence, forced thoſe miſcreants to let go their prey.

But they only deferred the period of their vengeance to a more favourable opportunity. I had had the good fortune at the committee, to contribute to the extrication of the Republic from its danger by repelling its enemies; and the only recompence I obtained was a horrid perſecution. When in the Directory, I contributed to extricate it from new dangers, wherein theſe ſame villains, then acting as factious *reactionaries*, had plunged it; and the recompence was my Fructidorian proſcription. I well knew that Republics were ungrateful, but I did not yet know that the individuals who call themſelves republicans were guilty of ſuch baſe ingratitude as I have ſince experienced.

If any one deſerved to be exiled for having given riſe to *reaction*, certainly that reward is due to thoſe infamous characters, who, through their perſecutions of the preſent republicans, and by confounding the innocent with the guilty, while they themſelves were covered with crimes, brought about the events of the

13th Vendemiaire. But it is the privilege of theſe men always to cauſe the puniſhment of their own crimes to fall on the heads of their enemies. Thus, after having ſeduced and miſled the Pariſians by their counter-revolutionary manœuvres; when they perceived that they were themſelves about to become the victims of their own infernal policy, they maſſacred them with their artillery to puniſh them for their credulity. I was then an abſolute nullity in the Republic. I rejoined the Legiſlative Body on the 13th Vendemiaire, to periſh together with them if it was neceſſary; but I was abſolutely deſtitute of any ſhare in all thoſe tranſactions.

I have more than once heard Barras expreſs his grief and concern, that there were not enough individuals killed in Vendemiaire; and Reubel, who was preciſely of the ſame opinion, propoſing one day, when we were in a ſtate of great pecuniary diſtreſs, to levy a forced contribution of ſixty millions of livres on Paris within four-and-twenty-hours: "You mean, then," cried I,

" that terror and death ſhould again be the order of the day:"—" I wiſh they were ſo already," replied Reubel: " I never ſaw but one fault in Robeſpierre, that of being too mild." And Barras repeated his favourite maxim (that maxim with which Germain has ſince, in other terms, reproached him) " We ſhould not be in this condition if the Pariſians had been more ſeverely chaſtiſed in Vendemiaire."

Sieyès having refuſed the office of director, at the period when every thing was in ſo deſperate a ſituation that the Directory had a difficulty to find domeſtics willing to enter into their precarious ſervice, the councils turned their eyes towards me. A rumour to this effect having ſpread abroad, the Directory ſent for me, Sieyès, and Merlin, to attend them. We all three attended them together. They offered to Merlin, the office of Miniſter of Juſtice; to Sieyès, that of Foreign Affairs; and to me, that of the War Department. Merlin accepted the propoſal, but Sieyès and myſelf refuſed. I could ſcarcely conceive how a ſet of men (among whom I knew

I had, at leaſt two mortal enemies) would offer me a place of ſuch diſtinguiſhed eminence; and I have no doubt but their object was, to prevent me from being placed in the Directory: it was principally that I might re-eſtabliſh the affairs of the war, that the Legiſlative Body were deſirous of promoting me to that office; and had I accepted the office of miniſter, the object would have been apparently anſwered. A few days after, they would have diſplaced me from that very office, and would, perhaps, at the ſame time have accuſed me of the ill-ſucceſſes which were then very probable, immediately to enſue.

On my refuſal, they named Aubert-Dubayet; and it is to be obſerved, that it was on me that the blame of the incapacity of that miniſter was afterwards thrown; and it was in the newſpapers, in the pay of Barras, that the accuſation appeared. Though Aubert-Dubayet was full of intelligence, and of courage, he himſelf felt that he was not qualified for the office he filled; and he was inceſſantly conjuring me to relieve him from this heavy burden.

At the outſet of their adminiſtration, the Directory were ſurrounded with the greateſt difficulties; yet, good fortune, and the zealous aſſiduity and co-operation of the Conſtituted Authorities, who were united by the common danger, ſoon reſtored their ſtrength: the war in La Vendée was terminated; the armies reſumed their original enthuſiaſm; the paper circulation diſappeared; the free circulation of the neceſſaries of life, ariſing from the exertions of the miniſter, Benezech, reſtored plenty to the people; and only one real cauſe of inquietude remained, ariſing from the party of the Anarchiſts who were boldly conſpiring, at the club of the Pantheon, daily challenging the maſſacre of the Legiſlative Body, and of the Directory, and reſolving, by every ſpecies of crimes, to re-eſtabliſh the conſtitution of 1793.

I know not on what ground it had been imagined, that I ſhould eſpouſe the party of the Anarchiſts. All thoſe who had any perſonal knowledge of me, all thoſe who had obſerved my conduct at the Convention and in the miſſions

I had diſcharged, could not entertain the ſlighteſt doubt that I was their mortal enemy.

Neither is my appearance that of a deſperate Revolutioniſt. I have known people who, from the deſcription of me in the newſpapers, expreſſed the greateſt ſurpriſe on ſeeing me, and would ſcarcely believe that I was that terrible member of the Committee of Public Safety, that aſſociate of Robeſpierre. Others, who knew me before the revolution a careleſs, ſolitary, abſent being, and full of thought; in ſhort, a kind of philoſopher, or rather an original, would ſtill leſs believe that I had now become a courtier and a friend of kings, or that I, having participated in the glory of founding the moſt majeſtic of republics, could afterwards amuſe myſelf with deſtroying it. Such inconſiſtencies were reſerved for the ſublime members of the Executive Directory, that is, for the very men who beſt knew the contrary.

Be this as it may, the Directory could then diſcover no other means of ſafety than ſhutting

up the Club of the Pantheon, which Bonaparte, who commanded the 1ſt Military Diviſion, was appointed to execute that very night.

But the Anarchiſts were not to be diſcouraged. Every day ſome new attempt was made by them; but they were only diſperſed, and no one marked out for puniſhment. Their impunity increaſed their courage; with them we were in the ſame ſituation as an antagoniſt in a duel who only parries the weapon of his adverſary, without attempting to wound him in his turn. However unſkilful this adverſary may be, he is certain at length to kill his enemy. Thus likewiſe would the Republic infallibly have ſunk, had not Babœuf and his accomplices been arreſted; a meaſure which ſtruck terror into the hearts of theſe miſcreants, and effected their diſperſion.

This reminds me of a remarkable anecdote. One of thoſe men, whom it is attempted to involve in all the ſchemes and plots which ſo rapidly ſucceed each other for the deſtruction of

the Government, waited on me one morning after the arreſt of Babœuf. He was a ſhoemaker, and explained to me the manner in which theſe intrigues were carried on by the journeymen of his trade. I ordered ſome breakfaſt for him, and made him talk freely of every thing he knew, and among other curious obſervations, "*My God,*" ſaid he, "*Citizen Carnot, how much I was aſtoniſhed at what you have done againſt Babœuf, I thought you a Brutus.*" All in good time, replied I. From this I perceived that this claſs of ſociety had been purpoſely filled with ſuch wild ideas, that with them every conſtitution, every law, and every government whatever, appeared an invaſion of liberty, every man in office a tyrant, and every one who propoſed to kill them, eſpecially if he undertook the office himſelf, as a Brutus.

The Directory did not without jealouſy obſerve that the man whom they had taken ſuch pains to repreſent as the protector of anarchy was the very perſon who had given it ſo ſevere a blow. But they were ſtill more irritated againſt me afterwards, when they found it convenient to make

me paſs for a Royaliſt for having arreſted Dunan, Brottier, and Lavilleheurnois. Certainly thoſe were not deſerving to be called *ſtupid*, who invented the ſtory, that I was the accomplice of the agents of Louis XVIII.; I, who had ſo long been tracking them out, and had ultimately cauſed them to be arreſted and brought to trial, while the *republican directors* ſuffered theſe ſame agents to be acting almoſt under their own eyes, without harbouring the leaſt ſuſpicion of them.

This conſpiracy, however, of the agents of Louis XVIII. was by no means a matter of ſmall importance. *Their trial*, ſays Bailleul, *had brought every thing to light.* This is an important confeſſion. It was I, then, who arreſted the very perſons that brought every thing to light. But have they brought to light, honeſt Bailleul, that I was their accomplice? From my having arreſted both Duverne and Babœuf, it might perhaps be inferred that I was equally the enemy of royalty and of anarchy. They argued, however, on wiſer grounds: becauſe I arreſted

Duverne, I was the accomplice of Babœuf; and becauſe I arreſted Babœuf, I was the accomplice of Duverne: but thoſe who arreſted no man, were the accomplices of no man; thoſe who ſuffer every faction to continue, belong to no faction; thoſe who proſcribe republicans that are free from reproach, are the true patriots; thoſe who tear the ſocial compact, are the firm ſupporters of the conſtitution; thoſe who enſlave the people, are the beſt friends of liberty; thoſe who carry on wars of extermination, are the ſincere lovers of peace; and thoſe who bring about Fructidorian Revolutions, are the faviours of their country! *We do not ſeek to prove the exiſtence of light.*

Cochon and Malo contributed as much and more than myſelf, to detect and defeat the agents of Louis XVIII. But Louis XVIII. has been amply revenged by the *republican directors*, who have proſcribed both Cochon and Malo. The worthy, the virtuous, Miniſter, Cochon, a thouſand times more active, more courageous, more republican, than all our *Repub-*

lican Directors, was the man who discovered to the Directory the whole history of the *coterie des fils légitimes* with which Bailleul has decorated his report. All the details he has given are borrowed from the papers seized by the agents of Cochon.

If, however, we listen to Bailleul, it was to their own penetration that the Directory was indebted for all those discoveries. No, Bailleul, the penetration of the Directory discovers only imaginary conspiracies; they can find no real plots; but in revenge those they discover '*in their wisdom*' are so clear, that it would be '*feebly to apprehend*' their intentions to ask for proofs! What does it signify who perish in a great convulsion, whether they are the innocent or the guilty? Have they not, in all events, accomplished their object; have they not destroyed their enemies; are they not possessed of the dictatorship? I have already observed, that it was the peculiar talent of the Orleans faction (the remains of which are now intriguing for themselves, and are the true

authors of the Fructidorian revolution) to appropriate to themſelves the fruits of the labours of others, and then to cauſe the puniſhment of their own crimes to fall upon their heads.

It was the alarming conſpiracy of Babœuf, and the imminent danger incurred by the public weal through the diſſolution of the *Legion de Police* (a danger which few were able fully to appreciate), that at length convinced me of the neceſſity of diſplacing, from every office of truſt, that crowd of immoral and incorrigible beings, who ſpread diſorder, diſcontent, and terror, into every corner of the Republic. To the appointment of ſome of theſe I had myſelf at firſt contributed; not to the nomination of thoſe whom I conſidered as unprincipled villains, but only of thoſe whoſe minds were inflamed with enthuſiaſm: and this I did as much with a view to diminiſh the maſs of theſe inflammable elements at Paris, as with a hope of ſeeing men, who had been miſled, return to the principles of moderation, and ſincerely abjure a ſyſtem which had been the

cauſe of ſo many evils. But I ſoon perceived that, although ſome of them faithfully returned to the good path, the majority endeavoured to employ the advantages they had obtained to throw every thing into confuſion.

It was at that period, too, that I began to perceive ſtrong oppoſitions in the Directory.—Reubel was conſtantly the protector of men accuſed of plunder and dilapidation, Barras of attainted and ruined nobles, and Réveillière of unprincipled prieſts. Whenever a deputation from any of the departments ſolicited the place of Commiſſary or Receiver, for any particular individual whoſe character, probity, and abilities they warranted, they began to calculate the number of votes; and if there were eight or nine deputies for granting the requeſt, and one or two for its rejection, it was negatived without farther examination; becauſe they had laid it down as a maxim, that the majority of the Councils were royaliſts.

Reubel very often expreſſly declared this propoſition as certain. He had memorandums relative to almoſt every member of the Legiſlative Body; he collected all he could learn concerning them, no matter from what quarter, which he carefully laid by and arranged in the pigeonholes of his bureau: and thus he was furniſhed with a magazine, by which he could involve in whatever conſpiracy he pleaſed, all thoſe repreſentatives of whom he wiſhed to rid himſelf. I here forewarn Jourdan that there are ſome of theſe memorandums particularly directed againſt him; I have heard Reubel poſitively declare that Jourdan was a traitor. This man was the principal cauſe of his diſguſt, and obliged him to aſk leave to retire.

Moſt of the other celebrated generals of the Republic were equally noted down by him as traitors. Kleber, in particular, was the object of his declared hatred. Yet that General has ſince reſumed his poſt; becauſe, no doubt, they took advantage of the opportunity to perſuade

him that I was the author of his diſgrace; whereas, on the contrary, it was I who (though unable to prevent it) endeavoured to ſoften it as much as poſſible, by a letter which I wrote in the name of the Directory, expreſſive of their regret at loſing an officer of ſuch diſtinguiſhed merit. I am convinced the Directory would not have ſuffered this letter to be ſent to him, had they read it; but they ſigned it *confidentially*. In ſhort, with regard to every man of eminence in the Republic, in any way whatever, I never heard any language ſo conformable to that of Robeſpierre, as that of Reubel; nor did I ever perceive ſo conſtant a deſire to annihilate every one who had acquired reputation by his ſuperior merit.

He appears fully convinced that probity and civiſm are abſolutely incompatible. He cannot conceive how a man of unblemiſhed character can have been induced to take a part in the revolution. One day, when I made ſome remarks on the undiſguiſed extravagance of Merlin of Thionville, after the time of the famous

ſurrender of Mentz, where he was ſent, together with Reubel, a repreſentative of the people, although this ſame Merlin had declared at the Convention that he had no property but his ſalary as deputy, Reubel inſtantly changed colour; yet no man is in general ſo well able to command his features. Some days after he ſaid, as if without deſign, " that Merlin of Thionville is a raſcal, and I have told him as much; for he ſpends twenty-five louis a-day at the Mount Calvary. I have long been his friend, becauſe I thought him an honeſt man, but now I have broken with him." In fact, however, he has not broken with him at all, and has never ceaſed to maintain the moſt intimate connection with him.

In Reubel the thirſt of power is inſatiable. At the time when lots were drawn to determine which of the directors ſhould go out, his ſight was ſo confuſed when he opened the fatal ticket, that although it was in his favour, he read that it was againſt him; and the words, *It is I*, eſcaped him, making at the ſame time a motion

of his body expreſſive of his concern. Theſe words I heard with perfect diſtinctneſs, becauſe I ſtood cloſe to him, and have often joked him on the ſubject; nor did he deny this fact.

As to Barras, I have already ſaid that he was the protector of the nobles; and this is not the leſs true for his apparently declaiming againſt them. He ſecretly endeavours to procure the re-admiſſion of the titled emigrants, and has always ſome marquis or knight to propoſe for every vacant place; but then they are always marquiſſes or knights who deſpiſed the advantages of their birth even under the old government. It is certain that Barras is an Ariſtocrat, and that the name of patriot, which is conſtantly in his mouth, is with him but a means of acquiring influence and power.

After the affair of Grenelle, Barras being publicly accuſed of not coming forward in the defence of the Directorial Palace, cauſed it to be inſerted in ſome of the journals, that he had appeared on that occaſion, and thus left

the truth quite uncertain, that he might be able afterwards to assert or deny it as might best suit his purpose. The fact is, that neither he, Reubel, nor Réveillère, made their appearance. Afterwards, however, they pursued this affair with much more warmth than I, who have always been of opinion that no influence ought to be exercised over the tribunals, when taking cognizance of any affair whatever. Réveillère, to whom I went myself to apprize him of the danger, as soon as I was informed that the insurgents were marching to the Directorial Palace, and were within a stone's throw of the gates, said "that he would leave the business to Le Tourneur, and myself, who were military men."— When the insurgents knew that we were prepared for them they changed their route, and went to the camp of Grenelle. Barras and Reubel excused themselves the next day, by saying they were out of town, because they were not apprised of what was passing. But I am of opinion they were out of town because they *were* apprised of it.

Thus they purſued the ſyſtem they uniformly adopt, of letting other men act in all caſes of danger, and then attributing the ſucceſs to themſelves, or throwing the blame on others. When ſeveral perſons came, on the following day, to give us an account of what they had witneſſed of them, one told us that Tallien, and ſeveral others of the Orleans faction, had been waiting on the banks of the river to ſee the reſult of the attack of the Camp of Grenelle, and that as ſoon as they learnt that it had failed, they diſperſed and took flight. Barras, who lived in habits of intimacy with Tallien, thought it might be better for him to ſeparate their apparent intereſts, and therefore began to abuſe and calumniate his friend. He ſaid, "that if there were five hundred conſpiracies, Tallien would be concerned in them all.'

Theſe two execrable men were united, not by the bonds of true friendſhip, of which upright hearts alone are capable, but by an emulation in cruelty. They had equally practiſed the moſt atrocious barbarity; they had equally bathed

themſelves in human blood—the one at Marſeilles, the other at Bordeaux. To defend myſelf, in caſe of need, againſt the intrigues of their faction, when they proſecuted me with ſo much fury, I had extracted ſome parts of their letters to the Committees of Public Safety during their miſſions. It is impoſſible to conceive any thing more terrible than theſe writings. All that has been yet publiſhed relative to them, gives but a feeble idea of the horrid language which I literally extracted from their correſpondence. This curious correſpondence has fallen into the hands of the guilty. It was among the papers which were taken from me.

I well know that the regret which the triumvirs felt, at having failed in their deſign to have me aſſaſſinated on the night of the 17th of Fructidor, aroſe from a hope, that by my death they would have prevented the expoſure of their crimes.—A body of aſſaſſins had been poſted at a back gate of my garden, whom the guard of the Directory, by my orders, commanded to retire, and they obeyed when they found that they

were diſcovered. A few minutes previous to the departure of the detachment, who were appointed to arreſt me, an aid-de-camp was diſpatched to know if I was ſtill at my houſe; where I certainly was, and quitted it but at the moment when the guard entered the apartments. The Luxembourg was, as it were, inveſted by a large body of troops, ſupported by artillery; but I deceived the vigilance of the aſſaſſins, by availing myſelf of a ſecret paſſage of which they were ignorant. I heard the diſcharge of the alarm gun, juſt as I had ſhut the laſt door through which I was to paſs; and, with a piſtol in each hand, I wandered for three hours about the city, and took my way through bye ſtreets, in order to avoid the detachments of ſoldiers which had been augmented on that occaſion, and that I might, at length, reach the aſylum where I fled for ſafety. Reubel could not expreſs the violence of his anger at the officer who carried the order of arreſt; and Barras was ſo inconceivably baſe, as to accompany the ſoldiers who were ordered to ſeize the feeble Barthelemy.

On the 19th, when the council excepted from the proſcription certain repreſentatives, and among others Doulcet, the Directory addreſſed a very inſolent meſſage to the Council on that occaſion, who, recovered from its firſt impreſſions of terror, refuſed to change its determination. This meſſage is well known. It was then the opinion of Réveillère, that Doulcet ſhould be aſſaſſinated. To ſay the truth, give that man but an opportunity to do any thing, and he will ſoon find the means of doing it.

At length, they celebrated their immortal labours by public rejoicings, in which nothing was wanting to complete their feſtivity but to drink their intoxicating beverage out of the ſculls of their enemies. At Rome, no triumph was ever known to grace the victories that aroſe out of civil diſcord. They were events which the Roman citizens contemplated with ſorrow and mourning.

The pen drops from my hand, in writing this affecting narrative; and in reflecting

on the monſters to whom France is abandoned. Theſe misfortunes, great as they may be, are not, however, of a nature to make the friends of liberty deſpair, nor to prevent the legiſlators from preparing for their fellow citizens the means of future proſperity. Above all things they ought to give their attention to the reſtoration of the finances, and the ſtability of the laws. Every one feels the abſolute neceſſity of forming inſtant regulations for the firſt; and, it is time that a due regard ſhould be paid to the ſecond; the rights of property alſo ſhould no longer be uncertain! A ſecure poſſeſſion can alone make agriculture flouriſh; attach the citizens, by the tranquil enjoyment of their property, to the country which protects them, and cauſe the love of the Republic to become the ſovereign paſſion of every breaſt.

In the ſame manner, when the obligations annexed to the ſtate of every citizen are reduced to a ſmall number of fixed and ſimple duties, every one will conform to them with pleaſure, from the readineſs with which he

comprehends them; and rearing his children in the practice of them, will inſenſibly form to himſelf a ſyſtem of public morals, which, identifying itſelf with the exiſtence of the nation, will fix its character, and ſecure its duration. Hence it is, that all the great legiſlators have diſcovered leſs inconvenience in an imperfect but fixed code of laws, than in more perfect ſyſtems, which, from the circumſtances around them, are liable to change. The beſt government is that which is obeyed from habit and education, and not from the influence of varying inſtitutions: in one word, that in which thoſe who govern have the leaſt to do; as that clock is the beſt, which requires the leaſt attention from the artizan. But the grand error, of the greater part of thoſe who are placed at the head of public affairs, is, a very general opinion, that they would be of no uſe, whatever, in their ſtations; and that the buſineſs of the ſtate would not proceed, if, on every occaſion and at every moment, their influence and interference was not perceived or felt, Univerſal toleration, and a calm promulgation of the

laws, are the moſt certain means of rendering a people contented, and preventing revolutions.

Allow every thing which can be allowed, without diſſolving the bonds of ſociety, or giving up all pretentions to freedom: ſuch an arrangement will perhaps beget, in the beginning, a tendency to diſorder; but, in a ſhort time, and by degrees, every one will take his natural poſition, and the ſocial body will become more compact and united; becauſe you will have ſubſtituted the ties of nature for thoſe of law. This is a doctrine which deſpots cannot comprehend; and they are ſo ſucceſsful in propagating their errors, that thoſe who wiſh to ſee liberty eſtabliſhed in its greateſt latitude are preciſely thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed by the titles of ariſtocrats and royaliſts. The Gothic King Theodoric was, in this particular, far leſs a Goth than our republican directors.

It is ſaid, that France is more tranquil than it was before Fructidor. It may be ſo, but if we ſuppoſe for a moment, that the triumvirs

govern with as much ſucceſs as Octavius, after he was Emperor, or Cromwell when he was Protector, would they be leſs the oppreſſers of their country! They might be compared to the hunter, who having taken a wild elephant endeavours by kind treatment to reconcile him to the ſlavery to which his future life is devoted.

The uſurpation of power cannot be juſtified even by the beſt employment of it; otherwiſe, any one who ſhould ſuppoſe himſelf more capable of governing than another would have a right to deſtroy him, and aſſume his place, as well as to ſubſtitute his will as ſuperior to laws and tribunals, from the imperfection of the one, the delays of the other, and the abuſes inſeparable from all human inſtitutions. And as a concentrated power appears to poſſeſs a greater degree of ſtrength, and more rapid execution, than that which is derived from a Conſtitution; the government of an uſurper will wear, for ſome time, the ſemblance of ſuperior advantage, though in fact, it is nothing more than the prelude of laſting ſlavery.

If it were neceſſary to examine whether, in what relates to the adminiſtration of public affairs, the conſequences of the 18th Fructidor have been beneficial, it would be very eaſy to prove the contrary. It would be very eaſy to make it appear, that a ſyſtem of diſſipation and waſte has prevailed, inſtead of a ſyſtem of economy and reformation; and that to give ſome degree of eclat to public meaſures, thoſe reſources which had been accumulated with ſo much care have been moſt extravagantly conſumed. The Directory has oſtentatiouſly reaped the fruits which others had ſown, and has itſelf planted brambles for its ſucceſſors. I am perſuaded that, without engaging in war with any of the great Powers, our armies will find themſelves reduced at the end of the campaign to one half, both as to their numbers and equipments; while the great Powers, on the contrary, have availed themſelves of the opportunity to recruit their forces. The embarraſſed ſtate of the finances is ſtill greater, notwithſtanding the increaſe of contributions, the large ſums which have been drawn from foreign countries, and

the ſuppreſſion of payments at home. The commercial ſpeculations, which were in ſuch a ſtate of activity before Fructidor, are annihilated; inſtead of a general peace, which might have been concluded, every channel of honourable accommodation has been ſhut up, by ſwearing to proceed in a war of extermination with the Engliſh nation; in ruſhing into a whirlpool of political circumſtances, which may engender new coalitions againſt France, raiſe up new enemies in different parts of the world, and may throw a doubt upon the political character of the Republic, which had been ſo honourably acknowledged by every power. No excuſe can be found for continually, and without the leaſt neceſſity, riſking the ſtrength of our country, as at a game of chance, though we ſhould be always ſucceſsful. He who ſhould veſt his whole fortune in a lottery muſt be conſidered as an idiot, and I ſhould not conſider him with more favour, though he ſhould be a gainer in the weak and hazardous enterprize; eſpecially if he were to continue his folly: but if this fortune ſhould not be his own, and that

he ſhould poſſeſs nothing more than the adminiſtration of it; and if inſtead of increaſing it gradually by prudent means, and employing its revenues for urgent neceſſities, he ſhould expend it at the gaming table, I ſhould then accuſe him not only of folly, but breach of confidence, and treaſon.

With reſpect to the obſervation which has been already made, that France is ſaid to be more tranquil than it was before Fructidor, it becomes us to conſider what is the nature of that tranquillity: Does it ariſe from ſtupor or ſecurity? Is it the repoſe of a ſpring in a ſtate of compreſſion, or free to move? Is it the ſilence of citizens who never know whether they are the objects of love or hatred, ſubmitted as they are to the authority, which is ſuperior to laws?—or that calm in which the heart is diſpoſed to dilate, from a conſciouſneſs that it is protected by the laws againſt the caprices of arbitrary power. With reſpect to the tranquillity produced by oppreſſion, we know it to be the natural effect of deſpotic government, which is always

more tranquil than that of a republic. Athens is at this day in a more peaceable ſtate, than in the time of Themiſtocles. Rome enjoyed a greater degree of quiet under the Tarquins, and under Sylla, than at the firſt eſtabliſhment of the tribunes. There is more tranquillity in a dungeon, than in a public ſquare. But is France more happy now than ſhe was before Fructidor. I declare the reverſe. But ſhould I be miſtaken, the people muſt be happier under a deſpotic government (for that of the Directory is more deſpotic than any which has hitherto exiſted) than under that of a republic. This, however, is the ſyſtem of Reubel and of all the Royaliſts. They only differ reſpecting the nature of the monarchy; the latter wiſh it to be hereditary, while Reubel is anxious that it ſhould be elective, provided that the choice ſhould fall upon himſelf.

We are compelled, therefore, for the honour even of the Republic, to believe that the people now ſuffer more than they ſuffered before Fructidor: but every citizen is obliged to concen-

trate his grief; and ſince the liberty of the preſs has been deſtroyed, no means are poſſeſſed of giving vent to it. Nay, if he dares to make his complaints known in his diſtrict, he would be inſtantly dragged before the agents of the executive power, loaded with irons, and abandoned or put to death, as a counter-revolutioniſt. If he ſhould be bold enough but to claim, even in a whiſper, his rights as a *republican*, he would be proſcribed as a *royaliſt*. In a free country, the ſuffering is ſmall and the outcry great, while, on the contrary, under a tyrannical government, the ſufferings are great and the complaints are ſlender. Such is the difference between the epoch which preceded the 18th Fructidor, and that which has followed it.

Before Fructidor the public agitation was extreme, becauſe a diviſion had taken place between the two higher conſtituted authorities. Such are the ſtorms which muſt be expected in democratic governments. There were two modes, however, of tranquillizing this agitation which preſented themſelves: that of concilia-

tion, by the ſentiment of patriotiſm and a ſenſe of common danger, which would not intrude upon their reſpective powers, was ſuited to the republican ſyſtem, and eſtabliſhed confidence in the ſocial compact. 2dly, The other was, that one of theſe authorities ſhould cruſh the other; and this the Executive Directory, which had the power in its hand, thought proper to adopt.— It not only refuſed to attempt the firſt mode of ſettling the exiſting differences, but manifeſted an unſurmountable reluctance, and repelled with ſcorn every advance that was made on the occaſion. And what has been the reſult of ſuch a conduct? A monarchy veſted in five perſons. Nor can we fail to remark, that the men who have formed this monarchical ſyſtem, the new monarchs themſelves, as well as thoſe who did not bluſh to be their humble agents, who called themſelves *republicans*, are the very perſons who have denominated others *royaliſts*, and under that character have proſcribed and baniſhed them.

Thus it has been, and thus it will ever be, when ſimilar circumſtances happen in the world.

It would be too dangerous to tell the people, that they are about to be deprived of their liberty; and it has ever been the policy of tyrants, to assure them that they would break their chains asunder, at the very moment when they were about to add to the weight of them.—Octavius would not abolish the name of republic. England was denominated a republic under the oppression of Cromwell; and never was the title of republic so fearfully respected in France as under the revolutionary government. At this moment, not only in France, but in Switzerland, in Holland, at Rome, Genoa, and Milan, nay, in every part of Europe where the Directory governs openly or secretly, by its proconsuls and armies, is not every one compelled, from fear, to affirm that he is free?—The time may be approaching, when men, while they are roasting alive, shall be compelled to declare *how happy they are*; like the savages, who glory in partaking of, and even surpassing, the joy of those who are mangling their bodies, as a preparation for eating them.

And who are they whom we muſt conſider as the real friends of royalty, if they are not thoſe who force us to regret the departure of it by their own tyranny? And who are the decided enemies of the republican government, but thoſe who ſtrive to render it odious?—Since words alone are of no value, it is experimental happineſs which the people require. If they are wretched in a republic, they will demand a monarchy.—If they are made to believe that a republic offers nothing but a perpetual ſtate of ſelf-denial; that it is a government where juſtice is adminiſtered by cannon-balls, and where it is diſpenſed with when any one cuts the throat of a royaliſt; where fear is the univerſal principle of action; where natural affections are weakneſſes, and the prejudices of education are conſidered as crimes; where decorum and good faith are ridiculous, and a wiſh for tranquillity a breach of public duty; where liberty conſiſts in a right to oppreſs, and the character of the government is violent and arbitrary; I ſay, if ſuch a deſcription of a republic

is offered to the people,—they will demand a monarchy.

Such, alas, is the falſe but miſerable opinion which the greater part of the French nation have been brought to adopt.—Examine then, particularly in the country, and you will now diſcover that each of them has quietly formed a diſtinct and two-fold arrangement of his fellow-citizens. In one of theſe claſſes, he places thoſe who are gentle in their manners, of peaceable diſpoſition, very ſuſceptible of alarm, but regular in their lives, and ſupporters of good order, and theſe he will deſcribe as Ariſtocrats. In the other—he arranges all thoſe whoſe qualities appear to be inſenſibility, effrontery, luxurioufneſs, calumny, and impiety; and he names them Patriots.—Such will be almoſt univerſally the conſequence of ſuch an examination.

He revolts within himſelf at the idea of a Republic; but it is becauſe he is deceived; it is becauſe, in the republic which is offered to his adoption, he beholds all the vices of monar-

chy: and thus forming an opinion of the latter, diametrically oppoſite to its real character, he attributes to it all the advantages which belong only to the former.—Hence it is that the people, who are naturally republicans, appear to long for monarchy, when they are only agitated with the deſire of improving their ſituation, and of enjoying the benefits which the republican compact had promiſed them. It will ever prove a fruitleſs attempt to tear from our nature that inſtinct, by which man perceives that he has a principle of reciprocal benevolence within him that is pre-exiſtent to all human inſtitutions, by which he ſympathizes in the happineſs and miſery of his fellow-creatures. He is ſenſible that if this principle, which is the law of nature, ceaſes to exiſt, ſociety itſelf would be inſtantly diſſolved, or would poſſeſs but a precarious being under the terror of deſpotiſm; he perceives that all the poſitive laws muſt re-unite themſelves to this baſis as to their natural root; that their genuine object is to augment the inherent diſpoſition and efficacy of this principle, and to complete, with a bolder line, that happy

ſketch of nature, under the ſanction of cuſtoms and uſages. The legiſlator, who loſes ſight of this object, commits every thing to chance, and runs counter to his principal deſign, when, inſtead of enforcing, he weakens this principle, and ſubſtitutes in its place a ſyſtem of fallacious independence and egoiſm; for egoiſm is a leading principle in political diviſion, in ſovereignty, and monarchical power; while reciprocal benevolence is, on the contrary, the baſis of that national equality which forms the ſimple foundation of liberty, which ſecures the property of every individual by the protection of all the reſt, and is, in one word, the genuine principle of a Republic.

There never was a king who made ſuch an oſtentatious and tyrannical diſplay of kingly power as each of our republican directors; never did any monarch equal them in watching the moſt trifling actions of his ſubjects. Never did the former monarchs of France treat their parliaments with the contempt which the Directory have manifeſted to the Legiſlative Bodies.

Cromwell himſelf did not reduce the Parliament of England to ſimilar ignominy. The national repreſentation could not be reduced to a more abject ſtate than that of being converted, under the cannon of the Directory, into a revolutionary tribunal. What is become of the ſolemn engagements entered into by the repreſentatives of the people? Where is the man who will hereafter dare to exert himſelf in defending the rights of theſe very people, and will have the courage to condemn thoſe who waſte the contributions raiſed by their own arbitrary exactions? Where is the man who will venture to oppoſe himſelf to thoſe who make peace or war without his participation; who at midnight violate the aſylum of the peaceful citizen, and ſend him to Cayenne, which is become the ſeat of thoſe baſtilles that have been eſtabliſhed by the Republic? If there ſhould be a man poſſeſſed of a degree of courage equal to ſuch a conduct, let me aſk, whether he would not be involved in the firſt conſpiracy which the directors may find eſſential to the execution of their grand projects? But

to be reduced to applaud ſuch a ſcene of baſeneſs, is to ſink into a ſtate of ignominy that is ſcarce exceeded by the vile courtier, who, when the tyrant of Aſia had pierced the heart of his ſon with an arrow, compared the ſkill of the royal aſſaſſin to that of Apollo.

If I had conſented to ſit upon the ſame throne with the republican directors, they would not have denounced me as a royaliſt; if I had joined them in dragging the national repreſentation through the dirt, they would have conſidered me as a diſtinguiſhed patriot; if I had been an accomplice in their crimes, they would have permitted me to ſhare in their boaſted innocence: but I defy them, and I challenge all thoſe, who have pronounced my condemnation, to bring home to me any expreſſion, writing, or act, whatever, ſince the commencement of the Revolution, which is not altogether conſiſtent with the genuine principles of moderation, of juſtice, and an ardent love of my country. How many are there among them who can, from their hearts, make the

ſame boaſt, and challenge the ſame examination? — and, nevertheleſs, who has been more expoſed, than myſelf, to ſituations of difficulty and danger? I have been ſucceſſively expoſed to every faction, becauſe I have never ceaſed to oppoſe them. I have been reviled by the venal writers of every party, but without one proof to ſupport their calumnies; but thoſe men, who employ their talents in defamation at ſo much per page, are ready to ſerve the republican or the royal cauſe, as either may demand their aſſiſtance. It may be readily conceived that ſuch a man as Bailleul, to ſeize on an employment, will cringe before any one who has the power to beſtow it, whether a prince or a director. But what had I, who was one of the directors, to gain by a counter-revolution? What had I to expect of kings, popes, and emperors? Could they raiſe me into a ſituation of more diſtinguiſhed pre-eminence than that which I poſſeſſed; in which I treated them as my equals, and ſometimes even with that ſuperiority in which I was clothed by the victories of the Republic?

I cannot name a ſituation, on the globe we inhabit, which can be compared with that of a Conſtitutional Member of the Executive Directory; nor more brilliant functions to fulfil, than thoſe whoſe object it is to preſerve the people from the graſp of abſolute power. It is the prominent feature of his duties. And of what materials muſt that man be compoſed, the meaſure of whoſe deſires and ambition would not be filled by receiving ſuch a high and important charge from the confidential preference of ſo great a nation as our own? At the ſame time it my be aſked, what is the magnitude of that man's guilt, who receives this truſt from a free people in order to become a deſpot? Nevertheleſs, the triumvirs, inſtead of preſerving the people from abſolute power, have clothed themſelves with it. They have diſcovered that the office of dictator is ſuperior to that of director, and they aſpire to be dictators. Indeed their prevailing object is to perſuade the people that they may live happy in a ſtate of ſubjection. After the government of ſuch men as theſe, the nation would receive an Henry IV. as

the firſt of bleſſings. It would be no worſe change for them than the abſolute government of one inſtead of five. The people would reaſon no farther on the ſubject; they no longer know the nature of liberty and the rights of man, nor feel a hatred for tyrants: nay, they begin to think that tyrants may be reſpectable! As for me, I would rather be an exile than a director. An oppreſſor of the people is a character replete with infamy; and I boaſt of the honourable allotment, of having become a victim of my fidelity to them.

The tiger of anarchy has long diſplayed his hungry jaws; and what muſt have been his delight, when he beheld the Directory throw to him two of its members to appeaſe his ſavage appetite—when HE became his prey who had ſo long deprived him of his meal — who alone, of the Directory, loved liberty from principle, and for its own ſake, and who had ſerved it with effect! — for it is ſuch men, above all others, that ſuch monſters ſeek to devour; for it is the pure patriot alone that can ſatisfy his

palate; and it is for ſuch food that he will lick, for an inſtant, the hands of his purveyors. The gang of royaliſts expreſſed neither leſs ſurprize or ſatisfaction, when they perceived the opinion of Vergniaud fulfilled, that the Revolution, like Saturn, devoured its own children. All the monarchs of Europe ſhould have offered their moſt grateful acknowledgements to their brethren of France, for having delivered them, at length, from an intractable enemy, which, from the moment of their coalition, had cauſed them ſo much alarm and diſquietude. The choice of ſuch a victim, fulfilled at once the wiſhes of thoſe who were the protectors of Louis XVIII. as well as the Orleans party. It is, however, greatly to be lamented that the good intentions of the republican directors, reſpecting it, have failed of ſucceſs.

What a ſcene of caprice and extravagance!—The triumvirs have paſſed the laſt two years in a ſtate of indifference and indolence; they have abandoned the Legiſlative Body to the fury of every faction; they have continually inſulted it,

and as often treated its members with perſonal degradation; they have even proceeded to tread it under their feet; and, nevertheleſs, theſe very men are held forth by it as the preſervers of liberty. During theſe two years, I, on the contrary, have been employed as a vigilant ſentinel of the national repreſentation; and have formed a rampart againſt the freebooters who wiſhed to be its aſſaſſins; I have diſperſed the ſtorms that menaced it; the wiſh of my heart has been, that it ſhould be the object of univerſal honour; that, even in its extravagancies, it ſhould remain inviolate, and that its members ſhould be treated with reſpect; and yet I am proſcribed; nor was one voice heard from the midſt of it, to oppoſe ſuch an act of extreme injuſtice! the fruits of my devotion to it have been exile, defamation, and miſery! Yes, legiſlators, triumvirs, and generals, who have betrayed your duties; miniſters, who have ſerved the cauſe of iniquity; yes, I prefer my allotment to yours; the ſtate of baniſhment in which I live is dear to me; and I only wiſh that I had merited it, by a ſtill more ardent zeal for the glory and proſperity of my country.

But am I not guilty of injuſtice in declaring, that not one voice was heard in my behalf?—Yes; OUDOT, had the courage, in the Council of Five Hundred, to ſupport my cauſe; while LACUÉE, in the Council of Elders, gave his teſtimony for me; and in ſuch an oppreſſed ſtate as mine, theſe were acts of no common generoſity: and much do I wiſh, that I could offer to men, who are worthy to be the repreſentatives of a free people, ſuch expreſſions of gratitude as their courage demands from me. The ſuffrages of two men who, amidſt ſo much contamination, ſtill maintain their purity, ſatisfies every wiſh of my heart; and will continue to awaken thoſe ſentiments, which they who ordered my proſcription can never inſpire: may this noble act of juſtice, never be the occaſion of cauſing thoſe who performed it to become partakers of my perſecution!*

* Many others, who deſerve a place among the moſt ardent patriots, have expreſſed to me their deep concern on the occaſion; but, they perceived, that it was impoſſible to reſiſt a faction, whoſe meaſures had been formed on a ſyſtem of villany, of which the hiſtory of the world does not offer an example.

I thought it my duty to anſwer the Report of the Committee, as it was an authentic document; and I ſhould conſider it as deſerving of reproach, if I had ſuffered any gall to mix in my reply. No one condemns more ſincerely than myſelf, the practice of anſwering injury by injury; and I ſhould not readily forgive myſelf for any which I might have unneceſſarily uttered againſt my aſſaſſins. But I muſt entreat the reader to conſider, that the nature of an accuſation muſt always determine the manner in which it muſt be anſwered. If the only object had been to expoſe errors; if proofs had been produced to that effect, and I had been called upon to do nothing more than prove their inſignificance, a calm, controverſial diſcuſſion would have been ſufficient; and I ſhould, moſt aſſuredly, have preferred it. But the Directory announces poſitive facts, and gives no other proof of their truth, but the moral virtue of the accuſers. It became, then, a duty I owed to myſelf, to prove the frail nature of their teſtimony; to make it appear, that they have not acted from error or miſconception, but from the worſt principles; that my accuſers have

not been deceived, but are themſelves the deceivers. I muſt, at length, unmaſk theſe impoſtors and univerſal plunderers. I do not, indeed, poſſeſs the art of telling any one, in poliſhed terms, that he is a liar, a traitor, and a cut-throat. If I had applied theſe titles to the triumvirs without proof, and when ſuch a mode of addreſſing them was not connected with unfolding their execrable ſyſtem, I could not have juſtified myſelf. But the contempt which I feel for them, aſſures me, that I have not indulged myſelf in any emotions of paſſion which might turn me aſide from rigid truth. They would not occupy my thoughts for a moment, if they were not blended with the means I muſt employ for my juſtification. How many of their baſe and vile accomplices could I expoſe; and I have never named them! Not, indeed, from any tenderneſs to them, but becauſe, I would not degrade my pen in writing their names; and, becauſe, their miſerable hiſtory could not have ſupported thoſe teſtimonies which I have preſented to the attention of the public. There ſurely cannot be one independent character exiſting,

who, when he reflects on these villains, does not feel himself moved by that awful indignation, which never fails to arise, when triumphant villany basely insults the victim that it has sacrificed.

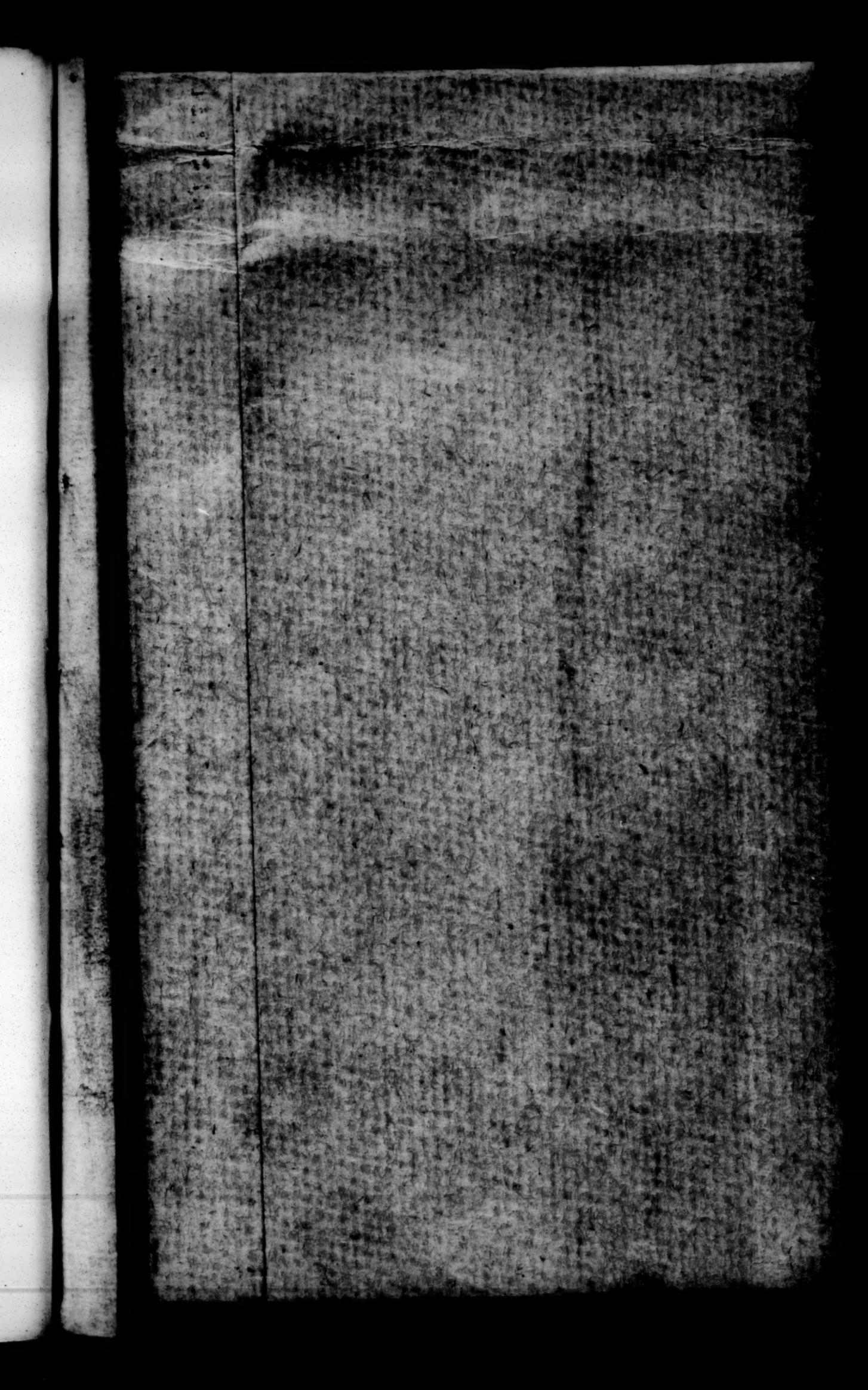
It was my ultimate object to make the Republic beloved, by erecting it on the basis of true genuine Liberty, and not according to any of those ridiculous definitions by which it has been misrepresented and misunderstood. It was my ardent wish to preserve, to the national representation of a great people, the supreme rank which the nature of things requires, and the constitution has marked out for it. It has been my desire, that every citizen should be governed in his conduct by institutions which were become habitually practical, rather than by the threats of the law. In short, it has ever been my opinion, that prejudice should be suffered to disperse insensibly before the light of reason, rather than be extirpated by the violence of power. I have certainly committed many errors in pursuing a career to which I had not been originally

deſtined; but I never deſerted the principles which formed a compaſs to guide me through the revolutionary tempeſts. If I availed myſelf of an univerſal enthuſiaſm to puſh on the war with an unexampled vigour, it was rather to put an end to the critical ſtate in which that enthuſiaſm had placed the nation. I had conceived the deſign of writing the hiſtory of this hallowed war, which has fixed the baſis of the great Republic on its own immortal trophies; and to conſign, in its annals, the innumerable acts of its heroes, for the glory and inſtruction of their poſterity.—With this view I eſtabliſhed the office, called the *Typographical* and *Hiſtorical Cabinet*, where I had cauſed a very large quantity of materials to be collected; and which others may be better qualified to unfold to the world than myſelf.

I did not employ the power which was delegated to me in amaſſing riches, or in raiſing my relations to lucrative employments:—I have clean hands and a pure heart.

I ſhall never ceaſe to direct my thoughts towards my country. No one can deſpoil me of the character of a citizen, which the conſtitution has given me, and which I have merited by the affection I bear it, and my zeal to its ſervice. I am not conſcious of having committed one arbitrary or tyrannic act: I demand a regular and conſtitutional trial, and I do not fear either the ſeverity of my judges or the appointment of the jury; whatever they may be, I am certain of being as good a republican as the moſt zealous of them. The only crime with which I ſhall be charged, is the vain but patriot attempt to ſave the French people from the dominion of tyrants. It was not, however, poſſible for me to ſucceed in this deſign, becauſe I employed only ſuch means as were authorized by the conſtitution which was confided to me, and I was oppoſed by monſters, to whom nothing that thwarted their views was inviolable or ſacred.

O France! O my country! O great and renowned people! it was in thy boſom that I had

the happineſs to be born; and I cannot ceaſe to belong to thee, till I exiſt no more. You contain all the objects of my affection; the work which my hands contributed to eſtabliſh; the virtuous old man that gave me life; a family without ſtain; friends who know the bottom of my heart, and can affirm, that it never conceived a thought but for the happineſs of my countrymen, or formed a wiſh but for their immortal glory and continual proſperity. Receive, O my country! this vow, which is renewed every ſucceeding day of my life, which I, at this moment, addreſs to all thoſe great and virtuous characters which you poſſeſs; to all thoſe who cheriſh in their hearts the ſacred ſpark of liberty. I conclude by the Spartan prayer, "ENABLE US, YE GODS, TO BEAR INJUSTICE!"

THE END.